

THE
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Art. I. *An Appeal to the Imperial Parliament upon the Claims of the ceded Colony of Trinidad, to be governed by a Legislature and Judicature ; founded on Principles sanctioned by Colonial Precedents and long Usage, with Observations thereon, intimately connected with the Political and Civil Interests of all the British West India Colonies.* By John Sanderson, Esq. Barrister at Law. 8vo. Richardson. 1813.

THE Island of Trinidad is a spot which a painter might select as the scene of inexhaustible beauties, where a naturalist would find the subject of endless admiration, and which a politician, ignorant of its history, might mark out as the probable centre of some future commercial empire.

Whatever might be the surmises of a mere speculative philosopher, as to the future destiny of this great country, its present history tells of nothing but wretchedness, confusion, and bad government. In the year 1782, M. de Chacon, at that time the Spanish Governor of this colony, in order to supply the deficiency which then existed in the number of settlers, was induced to issue a proclamation, holding out a full indemnity and protection against the claims of their creditors, as a boon to all who would reside within the limits of his government. The object of those by whom this flagrant violation of the law of nations was concerted, appears to have been fully answered. From all the neighbouring European settlements, crowds of insolvent debtors poured into this asylum, and there received grants of lands which could not, by any judicial process, be brought to sale for the satisfaction of the demands of their prior creditors. He must have been sanguine indeed, who could have expected the social virtues to flourish in a population so constituted. Even the West Indians (who have not the reputation of being more fastidious than the rest of mankind in the selection

of their society) were alarmed. The Legislature of Grenada passed an Act, on the 5th of July, 1784, which contains the following curious recital and enactment: 'Whereas the persons guilty of such robberies and frauds have found, and continue to find, a refuge and asylum in the Island of Trinidad for the slaves so taken away, and all applications for redress made to the Governor of that Island, &c. have hitherto continued fruitless;--- therefore the Act proceeds to authorize the arrest, upon suspicion, 'of all persons coming from the said Island.' In the year 1797, General Abercrombie commanding a large body of his Majesty's forces, reduced this colony to capitulate, and at the peace of Amiens it was ceded, in perpetuity, to the British crown. What we have gained by this acquisition, of which we should not be better contented to be destitute, we profess ourselves unable to explain. That rage of speculation which, during a short time, exhausted the resources of our merchants and planters, in stocking with negroes the estates which were granted with a profuse liberality by the Crown, has long since ceased to operate. Commercial bankruptcies and political dissension have for the last ten years filled the newspapers, and exercised all the intellect and energies of this restless community. During a long period, they carried on an unceasing persecution against the Governor-General Picton, and more recently have waged a war no less inveterate against Mr. Smith, their principal Magistrate.

The pamphlet before us forms a worthy continuation of these most unworthy squabbles. Its immediate purpose seems to have been, to call the attention of the public to certain disputes, lately depending in the Court of King's Bench, between the author and the Chief Judge of Trinidad; and truly had it contained nothing else, we should not have thought it very just to the latter gentleman, or quite fair towards our readers, to have called it from that obscurity in which, happily for the reputation of Mr. Sanderson, it has hitherto reposed. But it relates to matters of much more extensive interest than *nisi prius* disputes and insular controversy. It is a formal and laboured defence of the system of legislation adopted by this country in her West Indian settlements, and may be presumed to contain the whole argument which can be adduced in support of that anomalous form of colonial government. Upon this subject we have formerly intimated an opinion irreconcilably at variance with that of our author, and we shall endeavour, as briefly as the nature of the question will admit, to state the grounds and reasons of our dissent.

It will perhaps, however, relieve us from some difficulties in the prosecution of this task, to discharge, in the first place, the duty we have undertaken of passing sentence on the merits of

Mr. Sanderson's publication. His work then is partly legal, partly political, and in part rhetorical. His law, however, is we think materially injured by his politics, his politics are not much improved by his law---and his eloquence is equally detrimental to both. The learning exhibited in this pamphlet is at once minute and inaccurate; its speculative or theoretical parts alike bold and feeble. Mr. Sanderson announces himself as a barrister; and had we been left to guess at the nature of his professional pursuits, we think we should probably have had but little difficulty in discovering them from his usual tone and manner. He is a great quoter of authorities, and relies with the utmost confidence on the *responda prudentum*. With him the opinion of Mr. Serjeant Marshall is conclusive---the dicta of a Chief Justice oracular. But then, like too many of his brethren, he is somewhat fickle in his respect for cases and decisions. So long as they support his own views, they possess an authority which it would be at once useless and presumptuous to question: but let them oppose themselves to his peculiar notions, and they become mere hallucinations---the day dreams of erroneous and fanciful beings, by whose reveries no wise man would suffer the natural independence of his understanding to be controlled. All this in its place may be well enough. But we would submit to our author, that it is only in an argument *at bar* that men are privileged to be inconsistent.

The faults of this work do not, however, wholly arise from the professional habits of its author. It is the production of an angry partisan, who overrates the importance of the subject by which his own feelings are agitated, and expresses his indignation against his opponents, by a liberal use of every mode of invective, and of all those mute expressive symbols of resentment and admiration for which we are indebted to the skill of the compositor. Some passages however may be found which have not been produced without much labour and assiduity: one of the most elaborate of these we extract for the perusal of our readers.

‘ Because arbitrary government is, of necessity, continued over a class of people, who, from want of education in religion and morality, are incapable of using freedom, with any benefit to themselves or safety to the community; must it be therefore argued, that it is also necessary to deny the civil and political liberties of enlightened society to those superior orders of men, whom Providence has permitted to be elevated, by birth and education, to that rank and authority, which has constituted them the immediate lords of those, whom the same Providence has ordained to remain still in vassalage? Upon what principle of political reasoning can it be established that the colonists ought to be disfranchised, because their negroes cannot with safety be made free? Where did the ideas of civil and political liberty ever become so nobly exalted as in ancient Rome, when similar servitude was tolerated there? More than half the inhabitants of

the earth are still in bondage. Though liberty like the ocean gains ground in some parts of the world; yet like the ocean, too, she recedes from others: and though there is no domestic slavery in modern Rome, yet an ancient Roman would have considered himself a very slave, under those privations of civil and political liberty, that are now suffered by his posterity.'

'As well therefore, might it be asserted, that none shall be rich, because some still must be poor; as that the white colonists in Trinidad, may not enjoy civil and political liberties, because they cannot be conceded to the negroes.'

'These are nature's inequalities. Systems of equalization are not found in nature, any more than in politics. All animated nature teaches us subordination: Christianity enjoins obedience to superiors on earth; and teaches us that even in heaven "there are many mansions" !!! p. 192.

The taste and the theology of the foregoing passage are of nearly equal excellence, but it is not our present object to enter upon discussions either of *belles-lettres* or divinity: our immediate concern is with Mr. Sanderson's argument.

In the abolition of the slave trade no men rejoiced---none continue to rejoice---more cordially than ourselves. It was the noblest triumph of justice and mercy which the history of the world records---the greatest practical benefit, perhaps, which it has ever been permitted to man to confer on his fellow creatures. On these things, however, it is now happily unnecessary to dwell. The short interval of six years has effected a mighty revolution in the minds of men on this subject. Parliament which once, from year to year, quietly tolerated the continuance of this plague, have recently, without a dissenting voice, declared that trading to be a felony, which, a few short months ago, was confidently extolled as the means of relieving Africa from the horrors of famine, massacre, and infanticide;---a valuable lesson to those who are still struggling against reproach and difficulty for the good of mankind; who are labouring for the promotion of Christian knowledge at home, or the abolition of an inhuman superstition among our subjects in the East!

Nil actum reputans, &c. is a maxim to which the race of conquerors have ever shewn the most resolute adherence. The friends of mankind should not, in the pursuit of their objects, neglect a policy to which the enemies of the world have been indebted for their greatness. If the abolition of the slave trade effected much, no slight exertions must be yet made to secure the full accomplishment of the great work of benevolence, of which the abolition was intended to be the commencement and the foundation. On this subject, as we apprehend it is less considered than its importance deserves, we must be indulged with a few remarks.

When civilized men migrate in large bodies to barbarous and ill-peopled countries, it seems to be in the natural order of events, that the native population should melt away to make room for the support of the new adventurers. The causes of this triumph of civilized over savage society are very obvious, and have been very frequently explained. Thus, the encroachments of the Europeans in North America and in New Holland, were made at the expence of the aboriginal inhabitants of those countries; and whatever may be thought of the justice or injustice of the usurpation, it seems very clear that it has been the means of making large additions to the general stock of intelligence and social happiness throughout the world. Some may question the legitimacy of the means which have been adopted to produce that result; but no wise man, we think, will deny that the result itself has been salutary. It can scarcely be disputed, that the citizens of the United States, alone, far out-number the aggregate population of the whole continent of North America, as it stood immediately before our occupation of that territory;---that they incalculably surpass their predecessors in religious knowledge, in social virtue, and domestic happiness, seems too clear to need to be stated.

This however is not the history of the fluctuation of mankind in the West Indian islands. The Spaniards invaded the New World with no ideas or intention of colonization. Having established their authority in those once happy regions, they compelled the wretched Charibs to the most cruel and unintermitted labours. Toiling in the mines without relaxation and without sufficient subsistence, unknown European distempers, frequent famines, and the slower but not less certain ravages of unusual fatigue swept off, in a time incredibly short, the whole race of native inhabitants. Fifty years had not rolled away after the first approach of the Spaniards to their shores, when, through the whole extent of those fertile islands, scarcely one of their original possessors remained to mourn the extinction of his kindred, or to preserve the memory of the independence of his fathers. Nor was this waste of mankind compensated, as in other countries, by any great augmentation in the number of the invaders. The Spaniards, though powerful to depopulate, were wholly incompetent to occupy or cultivate their new territories; and it is probable that the great chain of the Antilles would have remained to the present day a fruitful desert, had not the project been conceived, in an evil hour, of supplying the want of slaves by importation from the continent of Africa. A resource perfectly inexhaustible being thus opened to the avarice of the colonists, the suspended labours of agriculture and mining were resumed with increased alacrity. The same policy was followed by the other nations of Europe in the several settlements esta-

lished by those powers in the West Indies; and the trade in slaves rapidly increased, till at length the amount of the annual importations almost exceeded belief. It will not be an exaggeration to state, that, in some years, the whole number of negroes carried by Europeans into servitude, was not less than 200,000. This unequalled abomination was at length, in 1807, most materially checked by the Abolition Act, and has, subsequently to that time, been either regulated or abolished in the United States, and the Spanish provinces of Chili, Buenos Ayres, and the Caraccas.

The past is remediless. The evils which we have inflicted on Africa, ages will not repair; but something it may be possible for us to do, towards the amelioration of the state of the oppressed natives of that country. On this subject it is, in the first place, quite obvious that nothing is more necessary for our future guidance, than a careful retrospect of our past conduct; and, secondly, that no part of the African race has so imperious a claim on our exertions for its benefit, as that unhappy class of men who are immediately subject to our controul in the West Indies. With respect to this great body of men, a question immediately occurs to the mind of the most important and interesting nature. What is the probability that the present race of slaves in the West Indies will, like their predecessors the Charibs, be swept away by the oppression of their masters from the face of the earth? Is there in their condition any thing which seems to promise a longer term of existence? The consideration of this question will perhaps be less irrelevant to the subject matter of Mr. Sanderson's pamphlet, than may at once appear.

1. It will be admitted, that the negro race has already existed in a state of West Indian slavery much longer than the original inhabitants of the country; and hence, perhaps, it may be concluded, that in future they will continue to keep up their population under all the pressure to which they are at present, and have been for so many years past, subjected. They who reason thus, however, completely exclude from their calculations one consideration which is quite sufficient to overthrow their whole inference. Most unquestionably it is not the fact that the negro slaves in the West Indies have kept up their population. It has been supported, not by natural increase but by importation. The whole number of slaves in Jamaica, for instance, or any of the old settled islands, was not greater at the period of the abolition than it had been twenty years before that time; and yet in those twenty years not less than from forty to fifty thousand native Africans, of all ages, were, at the lowest estimate, purchased by the planters of that island. Such was the waste of human life that, but for these periodical additions to the existing stock, the diminution in the numbers of the slaves must

have been rapidly apparent, in the abandonment of the plantations, and the stoppage of the annual consignments of rum and sugar to the British merchants. The great controversy which so long agitated this country as to the abolition of the slave trade, is not of such a remote date, but that every man who attended to it must remember, with what frequency and vehemence the West Indians insisted on this point---how incessantly it was repeated, that the negro population was incompetent to maintain its own numbers in the ordinary course of natural increase---and how confidently the ruin of the colonies and a deficiency of labour was predicted from the stoppage of the channel by which the gradual decay was repaired. Horrible to humanity as was the conclusion in favour of the endless continuance of this traffic, attempted to be drawn from this statement, the statement itself led inevitably to one consequence---that both the positive and the preventive checks to population, operated in the West Indies to a degree perfectly unknown in any other part of the world. Now, as this gradual waste of life was not asserted to exist among the *free* coloured inhabitants of these islands, the conclusion was irresistible, that, in the state of slavery only, this incompetency in the negro race to increase and multiply prevailed; and that to some circumstances attendant on that state, the progressive diminution of their numbers was to be attributed.

2. It is insisted that the superior hardihood of constitution will enable the African slaves to exist longer in a state of slavery than was possible to the effeminate Charib, and that the kind of slavery to which they are subject is itself far less rigorous and unfriendly to longevity. The accuracy of the first part of this position we are not disposed to dispute: the accounts transmitted to us of the feebleness, both of body and mind, of the Indian nations may be exaggerated, but, if not very grossly erroneous indeed, certainly seem to establish the general fact, that that people were characterized by the most extreme listlessness and debility. But as to the comparative lightness of the negro's labours, we are very sceptical. The operations of mining were no doubt exceedingly pernicious, but it was not any large number of the people who were so employed. The islands were never very abundant in the precious metals, and were soon abandoned for the richer mines of the southern continent. While engaged in the common drudgery of agriculture, and domestic servitude, the numbers of the Charibs gradually diminished, without any extreme severity having been employed to accelerate their fate. The cultivation of the cane was not introduced till many years after the discovery of America; nor is there any reason to believe that the tasks imposed on the Indians were peculiarly painful or oppressive. What, on the other hand, is the

situation of the negro? He is engaged in a description of agriculture of all others the most laborious---where immense exertion is occasionally requisite---in which the harvest lasts during nearly one half of the year---and where the crop time is uniformly a season of the most incessant toil. We know no better illustration of these facts than may be found in a pamphlet, published several years ago, under the title of "*The Crisis of the Sugar Colonies.*" As this work is now rarely to be met with, we extract from it the following description of the operation of *holeing*.

' When employed in the labour of the field, as for example, in *holeing a cane piece*, i. e. in turning up the ground with hoes into parallel trenches, for the reception of the cane-plants, the slaves of both sexes, from twenty perhaps to fourscore in number, are drawn out in a line, like troops on a parade, each with a hoe in his hand, and close to them in the rear is stationed a driver, or several drivers in number duly proportioned to that of the gang. Each of these drivers, who are always the most active and vigorous negroes on the estate, has in his hand, or coiled round his neck, from which, by extending the handle, it can be disengaged in a moment, a long, thick, and strongly plaited whip, called a *cart-whip*; the report of which is as loud, and the lash as severe, as those of the whips in common use with our waggoners, and which he has authority to apply at the instant when his eye perceives an occasion, without any previous warning.---Thus disposed, their work begins, and continues without interruption for a certain number of hours, during which, at the peril of the drivers, an adequate portion of land must be holed.

' As the trenches are generally rectilinear, and the whole line of holers advance together, it is necessary that every hole, or section of the trench should be finished in equal time with the rest; and if any one or more negroes were allowed to throw in the hoe with less rapidity or energy than their companions in other parts of the line, it is obvious that the work of the latter must be suspended; or else, such part of the trench as is passed over by the former, will be more perfectly formed than the rest. It is, therefore, the business of the drivers, not only to urge forward the whole gang with sufficient speed, but sedulously to watch that all in the line, whether male or female, old or young, strong or feeble, work as nearly as possible in equal time, and with equal effect. The tardy stroke must be quickened, and the languid invigorated; and the whole line made to *dress*, the military phrase, as it advances. No breathing time, no resting on the hoe, no pause of languor, to be repaid by brisker exertion on return to work, can be allowed to individuals: all must work, or pause together.*

* Crisis of the Sugar Colonies. pp. 9, 11.

Such are the toils of a negro slave in the ordinary occupations of West Indian husbandry. The labours of the harvest are however still more fatal to his ease and health. At this period he is, for several months of the year, compelled to labour through a great part of the night, exposed to the unwholesome damps of that pestilential climate. The much boasted Ameliorating Acts of the several colonies---(see the Bahama and Grenada Acts particularly)---not only recognize the existence of this evil, but do not even attempt to correct it. They enact that the slaves shall not be *at other periods of the year* compelled to work before sun rise or after sun set. No doubt the labours of a cotton plantation are less severe, than those which take place on a sugar estate: but it is to be considered, that sugar is the great staple and the chief article of culture in the West Indies, and that the cotton grounds are principally situated in the swamps and marshes of the Spanish Main, where the increased malignity of the climate amply compensates, in its effect on the longevity of the slave, for any diminution of positive exertion and toil. The comparison between the labours of the negro slave and those of the Charib might easily be extended further, but our narrowing limits compel us to contract our statements on this point.

3. It is clear that the want of the means of subsistence formed the great cause of the gradual decline and ultimate extinction of the native population of the West Indies. The negro slave, on the contrary, it may be supposed, does not suffer any privations of this kind; and no doubt if it be true that his mere animal nature has sufficient sustenance, the man may protract life to extreme old age, although his moral and intellectual part is neglected and debased. Now we admit that it is extremely difficult to institute a comparison between the quantity of food usually allotted by his master to a native Indian, and the pittance which the modern planter allows for the subsistence of his slave. We may reasonably presume that very little superfluity has been permitted in either case. If it should be said, in favour of the negro, that the minimum of his daily provision is in most of the colonies ascertained by law, it ought, on the other hand to be recollected, that his greater capacity for exertion, and the actual amount of his labours, render a larger quantity of substantial and nutritive diet necessary for the support of life and health in the African, than was sufficient for the sustenance of the Charib. But whatever might be the result of the supposed comparison, one thing we consider as perfectly clear. We mean that there is, generally, throughout the West Indies, a great deficiency of food among the slave population. No one of those islands produces within itself the means of its own subsistence. In times of peace they are dependent on North America. An

embargo act---a bad season among the farmers of Pennsylvania or New Hampshire---or a war between Great Britain and the United States, threatens our West India Colonies with the extremest miseries of famine : into so unnatural state has the rage of speculation, unsupported by any real capital, reduced those fertile islands. Now it needs little reflection to discover what must be the effect, upon the slave population, of the extreme scarcity and consequent dearness of provisions. But further, it must be considered that the cheapness of sugar is as prejudicial to the comforts of the negro, as the dearness of food, nay perhaps still more so. High markets for colonial produce may enable the planter to provide the means of supplying his estate with rice and salted pork, even though the price of those articles may be unnaturally raised : but when, as for many years past has been the case, the outgoings of the plantation have on an average exceeded the returns, the planter can with difficulty purchase the coarsest articles of food in the most abundant seasons. When both these circumstances are combined---when sugar is unusually cheap and flour as unusually dear---it is not hard to conceive how much both the quality and quantity of the daily allowances made to the gang will be deteriorated. It may be said, however, that the law insures to the negro his daily portion ; and that it is vain to argue, from probabilities, that a people can be needy and impoverished, for whose support the legislature has made so ample a provision. To this subject we shall shortly advert more at large. In this place it may be sufficient to observe, that it is in contradiction to the whole experience of mankind and the united testimony of all ages, to expect a rigorous execution of laws which oppose themselves to the interests, feelings, and prejudices of all the wealthy and powerful of the community.

4. But we may be told, that the interest of the planter will, even in the absence of all humanity, insure a careful observance of every thing which may be necessary to support the life and health of his slave, and that selfishness will protect the negro even where he has no other protection. Now, in the first place, the operation of the same motives ought, it should seem, to have protected the native Indians ; but such certainly was not the fact. Next, we observe, that this argument supposes the West Indian habitually to prefer his remote interests to those which are present---a practice we fear not very usual any where, and to be expected in few societies less than in those of our slave colonies. But we cannot but think that there is a sense in which it is *not* the interest of the planter to endeavour to protract the life of the negro. A cotton spinner knows that there is sometimes so great a demand for his manufacture, that, for the sake of anticipating his rivals in a high market, it may be worth his while to work up, within a certain time, all the raw cotton he can

purchase, even though by the extraordinary exertion he may ruin his machinery. The surplus gains will enable him to replace it, and to retain a large profit---or he may grow so rich by the speculation as to be able to abandon the trade altogether. The postmasters between London and York know that there are times (such as those of a general election) in which it may, with reference to pounds, shillings, and pence, be no bad policy to work their horses to death. The extraordinary demand for carriage, and the raised rate of postage, will amply indemnify them for the loss of the animals themselves. The postmaster, too, is aware that in seasons when corn and hay are dear, it may be more profitable, on the whole, especially if his capital is small, to starve his cattle, even though they are thereby disqualified from earning so much for him as they would have been able to earn, if better fed and more carefully attended. It is in these cases a dry question of arithmetic. Now if it can be supposed that a West Indian planter estimates his negroes much as the postmaster does his horses or the manufacturer his machinery---that is to say by their power of increasing his wealth---need it be questioned, that he will reason respecting them exactly on the same principles, and by the application of the same calculations? If it is cheaper to buy than to rear a stock, why should we doubt that economy will be consulted? We must fairly confess our apprehensions, that something very like this was once the fact to a very great and horrible extent, and that in some degree it still continues to be so. We admit, and we rejoice to admit, that the abolition, by enhancing the value of the slave, has tended to increase his chance of humane treatment. Still, however, that increased value is not so great as to make it quite clear that it is worth while, in a pecuniary view, to encounter great expense in order to protract the life of a slave; and if there is any opportunity left for supplying the gradual waste of life by smuggling, there seems the greatest reason to apprehend that self interest, instead of becoming the ally of humanity, may be made her most powerful antagonist.

But is not this reasoning uncharitable? Does it not suppose the existence of a degree of depravity too monstrous to be credited? Nay, are not the existing laws in the West Indies conclusive evidence of the attention paid by those communities to the comfort and well being of the slaves? And do not these laws furnish a reason for disputing the justice of the apprehensions, as to the fate of the present race of negroes, deduced from a retrospect of the history of the native Indians? They, it may be said, were protected by no laws, but were exposed to all the capricious cruelty of their masters; and in this difference of situation may be found a reason for anticipating a much longer duration to the existence of the African race, than was granted to

the Charibs. But we must again protest against the presumption, that the condition of a people can be ascertained by reading their statute books. *Leges sine moribus* are proverbially inefficacious. But where are the so-much vaunted laws for the benefit of the negroes to be found? Acts called *ameliorating* were, no doubt, passed in many of the colonies when the question of the abolition was first agitated, and it would on a proper occasion be a task at once useful and curious, to enter into a strict and minute examination of those statutes. This labour we must for the present decline, but one or two general observations on these laws we must offer for the consideration of our readers.

Every one remembers the answer given by the Spartan, when asked what was the punishment of adultery at Lacedæmon---the crime was unknown; and the law of course had neither supposed, nor provided for, its occurrence. The silence of the penal code of any country, as to a particular offence, is however no very good proof that the morals of the people are, in that respect, perfectly unimpeachable. Without much hesitation, we may confidently assume that connubial infidelity was not a very rare occurrence among the disciples of Lycurgus, although that legislator had provided no chastisement for the violation of the marriage bed. The absence of penal statutes is more frequently to be attributed to the moral apathy of the law-giver, than to the purity and innocence of the subject.

On the other hand, it is quite plain, that, where the code of any nation frequently prohibits offences of the deepest malignity and turpitude, although we may acquit the legislative authority of a culpable indifference to guilt, we are bound of necessity to convict the people of the frequent commission of the prohibited crimes. If the Spartan laws had abounded with edicts against adultery, frequently renewed and carefully reiterated, every man would have deemed such enactments conclusive evidence of the frequency, among that warlike race, of matrimonial unfaithfulness. Now in applying this observation to the history of penal legislation in the West Indies, two periods are carefully to be distinguished. Anterior to the year 1788, the massy volumes from time to time produced by the labour of the colonial assemblies, may be searched in vain for any law against the infliction of tortures on negro slaves---against the exaction of excessive labour---against unmerciful whippings---or maiming and cutting the person. Prior to that time, few, if any, provisions will be found, compelling the owner to provide sufficient sustenance for his gang---making the wilful murder of a coloured person a felonious offence---establishing any guardians for the protection of their civil or natural rights and privileges---making it imperative on the master to maintain an aged and disabled slave---giving any respite from labour to pregnant women---or in short any of

those numerous and beneficent regulations, which, since that time, have been adopted by the assemblies of all our islands. What then is the conclusion which we are to draw from the total silence of our colonial legislatures, on these subjects, during the very long period in which, previously to 1788, they exercised, within the precincts of their respective jurisdictions, an authority analogous to that of the British Parliament? Shall we say that till this era justice and mercy had called for no such enactments? that the slave population had been treated with an equity so inflexible, and tenderness so lenient, that laws for their protection would have been superfluous? that, down to the disastrous moment when these laws became necessary, there had been no torture? no severity? no starvation? no rights abused? no worn out slaves left to die in want and sickness? no pregnant women compelled to the drudgery of field labour? no murders committed? All this no doubt has been asserted---nay in the very teeth of the Ameliorating Acts themselves this has been asserted to have been the state of the negroes down to the present moment: but certainly they who make such statements must have a very mean idea of European understandings, if they expect to be believed. Such a representation, it is self evident, *must* be false. Would any man, who should turn over our own statute books, want further proof that housebreaking, forgery, larceny, and taking illegal oaths, were crimes of common occurrence amongst ourselves? Why then refuse to believe that the horrid cruelties, against which it is the professed object of the Ameliorating Acts to relieve the coloured population of the West Indies, are of common occurrence in those colonies?

But then the question recurs; is not the enactment of such laws a sufficient proof of a humane attention on the part of the colonial assemblies to the evils under which the slaves have laboured? We have no pleasure in drawing gloomy pictures of society: and of all communities we least wish to depict in melancholy colours those which have a common parentage with ourselves. But on this subject it would be culpable not to speak plainly. Compliment in right season and in proper place has its use, but this we think is not the time for congratulatory language. We venture then to say, in so many words, that these "ameliorating acts" have, in most cases, been nothing more than palpable frauds on the British public, and that, so far from intilling our colonists to the praise of humanity, they are generally only proofs that in this, as in most other cases, hard-heartedness is usually united to duplicity.

The date of these laws is extremely worthy of remark. In Grenada, the act for protecting the slaves bears date the 9th of December, 1797. In the Bahamas, the consolidated slave act was passed in 1796. In Antigua, a similar law is dated in the

year 1798; and so on through all or nearly all the other colonies. Now, what reason can be assigned for this contemporaneous burst of philanthropy throughout all these independent legislatures? It can scarcely be supposed that such a great revolution in the conduct and character of the planter had taken place, at that particular moment, through all these islands, as to call for this reform; neither have we read in the history of the West Indies any thing to lead us to suppose, that the sensibility of the legislators of that part of the world had, at the period in question, received any great additional warmth. But we do remember, that, just at the time when these laws were passed, debates had been renewed in the Parliament of Great Britain for the abolition of the slave trade; that the promoters of that measure, supported by the voice of the whole people of this kingdom, were triumphing in the hope of immediately subverting that horrible system of murder; that much argument in support of their cause was drawn, and most justly drawn, from the wretched condition of the West Indian negroes; and that a rigid inspection of the abuses which had taken place in these islands, had been very intelligibly threatened. Just at this moment the dormant humanity of the colonists awoke. Crimes which had been passing for ages under their eyes, unnoticed and unchecked, instantly assumed magnitude and importance, when they had attracted the notice of the British Parliament. Then humanity began her work, and cruelties were prohibited by severe laws, the very existence of which, previously to the enactment of those laws, had been most pertinaciously and confidently denied. Beyond controversy it was highly proper that such crimes should be prohibited: we admit with joy that much pretended and some real reformation did take place; and are quite ready to allow to many individuals the praise of having exerted themselves, with great energy and benevolence, in the service of the unfortunate race of men for whose protection the laws in question were intended. This only we wish to insist upon---that this "ameliorating" system was adopted under circumstances of great suspicion; that if it was very humane, it was not less politic, at that particular time, to pass well-sounding acts for the protection of the slaves; that it put an argument of great seeming force into the mouths of Mr. Fuller and the other eminent champions of the colonies in this kingdom; and was, in point of fact, of eminent service in protracting for eight or ten years the so much dreaded abolition.

Is it, then, we would ask, any very unjustifiable strain of suspicion, if we distrust the sincerity of legislators passing statutes of such obvious convenience to themselves, and at the same time so irreconcilably inconsistent with all their previous practice and professions. We frankly confess that we have always doubted

extremely the beneficent intentions of these lawgivers, and have more than once found that edicts so framed and promulgated would, in practice, be habitually despised and evaded. Let us inquire what has been the fact? Have the ameliorating acts been fairly and honestly carried into execution, or have they not? It would be an endless task to travel *seriatim* through all the different statutes of this description, examining, with respect to each colony, into the manner and degree in which they have been put in force. A few instances illustrative of the general habits of the West Indians, will be all that we can now afford to produce.

By the act of Grenada and the Grenadines of the 9th December, 1797, sec. 19, it is enacted, 'that, from and after the publication of this Act, it shall not be lawful for any person or persons to manumit or set free any slave or slaves, &c. without first paying unto the treasurer of these islands, for the time being, the sum of 100*l.* for each and every slave so manumitted.' The preamble of this section deserves particular notice. It runs thus: '*Whereas the manumitting, and setting free, slaves diseased, blind, aged, or otherwise disabled from working, without making provision for their sustenance and comfort, ought to be prevented, as it obliges them to ramble about and beg for subsistence, which frequently compels them to the necessity of robbing and stealing, and leads them to other bad practices to support themselves: and whereas it is also necessary to discourage the too frequent manumission of slaves without a sufficient provision being made for their support; Be it therefore, &c.*'

Upon this clause it must be observed, in the first place, that it gives a curious though distressing picture of the manner in which a Creole master contrived to deliver himself from the burden of supporting his "diseased," "blind," "aged," or "disabled" slaves. In the next place, it illustrates the jealousy with which, contrary to the policy of every other people possessing a slave population, the West Indians repress, by taxation, the disposition of the master to liberate his slave. But it is not on these accounts that we have made the quotation. The 20th clause of the same act provides, that every person so manumitted shall be intitled out of the hundred pounds to an annuity of 10*l.*; and by the 21st clause it is provided, that this annuity shall be enjoyed even though the manumitted person should be absent from the island. This provision seems, and certainly was, a beneficent attention to the wants of the manumitted negro; and in 1797, no doubt, produced an impression very favourable to the humanity of the legislature of Grenada. But what will our readers think of these pseudo-philanthropists, when they are informed that in 1806, when the scrutiny of the British Parlia-

ment had become less exact and severe, these men passed a law repealing so much of the preceding act as intitled the slave to his annuity, while the tax on manumission was preserved entire. The alteration was made by striking out that part of the act of 1797, which we have printed in italics. A similar Act, imposing a tax on manumission, is to be found in the Acts of Saint Christopher's; and in the 9th section of an Act passed in the year 1784, for the government of slaves in the Bahamas.

The dreadful tragedy, in which the family of Huggins acted so conspicuous a part in the island of Nevis, is, we believe, well known to all our readers. They may not, however, be aware that the editor of a newspaper in St. Kit's was prosecuted and convicted in heavy damages, for publishing the resolution of the House of Assembly in Nevis, reprobating the execrable cruelties of the elder Huggins, and that the poor man was nearly ruined by the effect of the prosecution, and the public odium which he sustained, for having given publicity to this vote of the legislature. Neither, perhaps, is it generally understood, that the younger Huggins has lately been found guilty of manslaughter, for shooting a negro boy in the open day, in the market-place of Nevis, and sentenced to pay 250*l.* currency, exactly one-half of the tax established by the laws of that island for the manumission of a slave.

The complicated murders committed by Arthur Hodge on fifty of his negroes in Tortola---the shameful delay in bringing this man to justice, though the facts were universally notorious in the colony---the long discussion which was there entertained in open Court, whether the murder of a slave is a punishable offence---the reluctance of the jury to return a verdict of guilty---their recommendation of the culprit to mercy---the rebellion apprehended by Governor Elliott, in consequence of his determination to execute the sentence;---all these things are already familiarly known to those who have read the Reports of the African Institution.

If we look to another part of these islands, we shall find a similar spirit of ferocious cruelty and tardy justice prevailing. Lord Seaforth's letter to his Majesty's government details barbarities practised in Barbadoes on the slaves, not to be equalled but in the West Indies. As that statement however is familiarly known to our readers, we prefer quoting from Dr. Pinckard's travels one or two similar instances, which cannot be too frequently cited or too deeply impressed on the recollection of the public. The first we shall refer to, occurred in the colony of Demerara, on an estate called Lancaster, the property of an English gentleman.

‘ Two unhappy negroes, a man and a woman, having been driven by cruel treatment to abscond from the plantation Lancaster, were

‘ taken a few days since, and brought back to the estate, when the
‘ manager, whose inhuman severity had caused them to fly from his
‘ tyrannic government, dealt out to them his avenging despotism with
‘ more than savage brutality. Taking with him two of the strongest
‘ drivers, armed with the heaviest whips, he led out these trembling
‘ and wretched Africans, early in the morning, to a remote part of the
‘ estate, too distant for the officers to hear their cries; and, there,
‘ tying down first the man, he stood by, and made the drivers flog him
‘ with many hundred lashes, until, on releasing him from the ground,
‘ it was discovered that he was nearly exhausted: and in this state
‘ the inhuman monster struck him on the head, with the butt end of
‘ a large whip, and felled him again to the earth; when the poor
‘ negro, escaping at once from his slavery and his sufferings,
‘ expired at the murderer’s feet: but not satiated with blood, this sa-
‘ vage tyrant next tied down the naked woman, on the spot by the
‘ dead body of her husband, and with the whips, already deep in gore,
‘ compelled the drivers to inflict a punishment of several hundred
‘ lashes, which had nearly released her also from a life of toil and
‘ torture.

‘ Hearing of these acts of cruelty, on my return from the hospi-
‘ tal, and scarcely believing it possible that they could have been
‘ committed, I went immediately to the sick-house to satisfy myself by
‘ ocular testimony: when, alas! I discovered that all I had heard
‘ was too fatally true; I found the wretched and almost murdered
‘ woman lying stark-naked on her belly, upon the dirty boards, with-
‘ out any covering to the horrid wounds which had been cut by the
‘ whips, and with the still warm and bloody corpse of the man ex-
‘ tended at her side, upon the neck of which was an iron collar, and a
‘ long heavy chain, which the now murdered negro had been made to
‘ wear from the time of his return to the estate. The flesh of the wo-
‘ man was so torn, as to exhibit one extensive sore, from the loins al-
‘ most down to her hams; nor had humanity administered even a drop
‘ of oil to soften her wounds: the only relief she knew, was that of ex-
‘ tending her feeble arm in order to beat off the tormenting flies, with
‘ a small green bough, which had been put into her hand for that pur-
‘ pose by the sympathizing kindness of a fellow slave. A more shock-
‘ ing and distressful spectacle can scarcely be conceived. The dead
‘ man, and the almost expiring woman had been brought home, from
‘ the place of punishment, and thrown into the negro hospital, amidst
‘ the crowd of sick, with cruel unconcern. Lying on the opposite side
‘ of the corpse was a fellow-sufferer, in a similar condition to the poor
‘ woman. His buttocks, thighs, and part of his back, had been
‘ flogged into one large sore, which was still raw, although he had
‘ been punished a fortnight before.

‘ A few days after the funeral, the attorney of the estate happened
‘ to call at Lancaster to visit the officers, and the conversation na-
‘ turally turning upon the late cruelty of the manager, and the con-
‘ sequent injury derived to the proprietor, we asked him what punish-
‘ ment the laws of the colony had provided for such crimes; express-
‘ ing our hope that the manager would suffer the disgrace he so justly
‘ merited; when, to our great surprize, the attorney smiled and

' treated our remarks only as the dreams of men unpractised in the
' ways of slavery. He spake of the murder with as little feeling as the
' manager had perpetrated it, and seemed to be amused at our vision-
' ary ideas, of *punishing a white man* for his cruel treatment of slaves.
' To the question, whether the manager would not be dismissed from
' the estate, he replied "*certainly not*"—adding that "*if the negro had*
' *been treated as he deserved, he would have been flogged to death long*
' *before.*" Such was the amount of his sympathy and concern! The
' laws of the colony, he said, were intended to prevent any person from
' punishing a slave with more than thirty-nine lashes, for the same
' offence: but by incurring only a small fine, he could, at any time,
' punish a negro with as many hundred lashes as he might wish, "al-
' though the governor and the fiscal" were standing at his elbow.*

Although Dr. Pinckard's book does not contain any other case equally atrocious with that which we have transcribed, yet there are some passages in it which we must point out to our readers, as illustrative of the indifference with which even women, in the highest stations of society in the West Indies, contemplate the sufferings of their slaves. We have no room for additional quotations, but must refer our readers to pages 192, 201, and 239, of the second volume of the Doctor's book, for proofs of the accuracy of our representation. These instances, forming only a part of the catalogue of enormities practised against this unprotected race of men, we wish it distinctly to be observed, are all *subsequent to the date of the ameliorating acts.*

Now what answer is given when, from facts like these, it is argued, that the character and feelings of our fellow subjects in the West Indies are unnaturally perverted upon all questions affecting the life or happiness of the negro population of those islands? We know well that an answer has been attempted, and it is this---that the cases we have mentioned are only instances of individual depravity, and that in such monsters as Bellingham, and the wretch who committed the murders at Ratcliffe Highway, we can find in our own country counterparts of the characters of Hodge and others in the West Indies. That such a declaration as this should be seriously made and seriously maintained, we can only consider as a proof of the degree in which some persons, presuming upon our supposed ignorance of colonial affairs, present to the public any statement which may happen to suit a temporary purpose. Bellingham and the other murderer we have mentioned, were the outcasts of society in this country. Hodge, on the other hand (to select only one instance) occupied an exalted station in the community in which he resided: he was the most opulent, and beyond comparison the most powerful, among the planters of Tortola. The difference of rank, however, between the assassin in the West Indies and him in Europe, constitutes the least important

* Pinckard's Notes on the West Indies. Vol. III. pp. 65, 71.

distinction between the two cases. *Here*, at the commission of those enormities, you met no man who did not shudder at the mention of them---no man who would not have thought himself polluted by the touch, and degraded by association with such monsters of guilt. In the West Indies, Mr. Hodge, till the last scene of his existence, was received with courtesy in society, and occupied, without offending the feelings of any one, the honours and dignity of the colonial commonwealth. Till the last moment, his fellow subjects never appear to have manifested any abhorrence of his guilt, or any disgust at association with him. Would an English judge have borne, for an instant, that it should be questioned whether murder was a punishable offence? Would an English jury, in a case where the evidence of guilt was demonstrably clear, and uncontradicted, have lingered two hours in returning a verdict of guilty? Would an English jury have recommended the wretched Williams to mercy? Would popular indignation have been roused to the very verge of rebellion in the prospect of his execution? Would English gentlemen, or English mechanics of the lowest class and station in society, have condescended to live with such a man on terms of familiarity and good fellowship for a single hour? And yet the guilt of this wretched being is scarcely remembered, when compared with that of Hodge---a man with whom, we repeat, the whole society of a West Indian Island lived for years in ease and intimacy, although, as was afterwards apparent, there was not one of them who had not a full knowledge, or the strongest suspicion, of his guilt.

Now we willingly allow, as indeed it is not to be disputed, that, among the white inhabitants of a slave colony, many men are to be found who would be the delight and ornament even of European society---men of active and energetic minds, of high spirit, and boundless gaiety in the intercourse of social life---distinguished beyond most men for their keen and rapid insight into all the varieties of human character---affectionate and hospitable, generous even to the verge of profusion, and gentle and humane to their inferiors and dependants. It is far from our purpose to indulge in indiscriminate censure, and we have made the preceding statement only to establish one conclusion to which we think it inevitably leads. That inference is this---that however qualified West Indian planters may be for the discharge of other legislative duties, they cannot safely be entrusted with the sole authority of making laws for the government of the slave population. Independently of experience, indeed, we might, with no great diffidence, have arrived at this conclusion. It is hardly in human nature that men should consult, with much solicitude, the civil rights and interests of those

whom they hold in domestic bondage. It is not consistent with the history of the world to expect that a class of persons, totally excluded from all participation in the legislative authority of a state---connected with that legislature by no identity of interest, by no tie of consanguinity---at once despised and feared---destitute of education, and ineligible to the meanest office conferring honour, rank or emolument---that such men should be treated by a legislative assembly, selected exclusively from the higher *caste*, with common fairness, liberality, or attention. This speculation, however, we are loudly told, is proved to be fallacious by an inquiry into the facts of the case. To those facts we have therefore appealed; and, to recur to the view of the whole question already suggested, we confess ourselves unable to discover, either in the constitution or in the proceedings of the colonial assemblies, any reason to anticipate, that the present race of negro slaves will, under their protection, exist for a longer period than that which European cruelty allotted to their predecessors the native Charib Indians.

We will fairly say, however, that we are not confident in the accuracy of this analogy---nor, in truth, are we very solicitous to prove that the particular view of the subject which we have taken, is unassailable by powerful objections. What then is the result which we propose to establish? In reply to this very pertinent inquiry, we say, in the first place, (to return once more to Mr. Sanderson) that it is a question of no light moment, whether we should extend to another colony that system of internal legislation, under which all these abuses have grown up, and by which (to say the least) they have not been controuled---that, therefore, it behoves our author to furnish himself with something more than opinions and decisions, with some better argument than "Mr. Serjeant Marshall" can find in the recesses of his library, if he wishes to prevail in establishing in Trinidad the constitution of our other slave colonies. Let him shew that such an establishment would really promote the happiness, and tend to maintain the numbers, of the present race of negroes. Let him produce some facts to convince us that his brother colonists, if exalted into legislators, would with more good faith than their neighbours exert themselves diligently to "ameliorate" the condition of that class of our fellow-subjects, who form ten-fold the more numerous part of the whole population, and who, as destitute of any civil rights, or of any protection against domestic tyranny, are eminently intitled to the protection of the mother country. Till he does this, he must excuse us if we remain unmoved by his eloquence, and unconvinced by his law.

The only other conclusion to which we would, for the present,

direct the attention of our readers is---that they should not suppose that, because the trade in slaves is abolished, all the evils of slavery have therefore ceased to exist. Never let it be forgotten that we hold at this moment some millions of our fellow-creatures in a state of the most degrading domestic bondage, and that such a state of things imposes on us many duties, among which the obligation to extreme vigilance and jealousy, as to the conduct of the planters, is not the least. We will not now attempt to suggest any practical measures for the remedy of the evils we have pointed out; but we shall not lose sight of the subject; and, as opportunity offers, shall endeavour, to the best of our very humble ability, to explain and support every wise, rational, and prudent measure, which may be proposed for the correction of the existing abuses in the West Indian system, or the amelioration of the state of that unhappy class of mankind who have so long groaned, in those islands, under European oppression.

Art. II. *A Series of Plays*: in which it is attempted to delineate the stronger Passions of the Mind; each Passion being the Subject of a Tragedy and Comedy. By Joanna Baillie. 3 vols. 8vo. Longman and Co. 1798, 1802, 1812.

Art. III. *Miscellaneous Plays*. By Joanna Baillie. 8vo. Longman and Co. 1804.

Art. IV. *The Family Legend*, a Tragedy. By Joanna Baillie. 8vo. Longman and Co. 1810.

MOST of our readers know that, about fifteen years ago, Miss Baillie published the first volume of a series of Plays upon the Passions, in which it was intended to make each stronger passion the subject of both a tragedy and a comedy; and that she has been proceeding in her undertaking with two more volumes, suffering, however, the series to be interrupted, once by a volume of Miscellaneous Plays, and again by a single tragedy, called the Family Legend. It is our intention, in the present article, to speak of all her works together.

Before we enter upon the consideration of the plays themselves, however, we must detain our readers a little upon an old question, which Miss Baillie has brought forward anew in the preface to her first volume; viz. how it comes to pass that tragedy can be agreeable?---that a composition, the very glory of which it is to draw tears, should be the source of the most exquisite pleasure? Innumerable have been the hypotheses framed by crafty critics for the explication of this phenomenon, each one contending for his own to the exclusion of every other. We are convinced, however, that the pleasure we receive from a well-

written tragedy arises from many sources ; and he who endeavours to derive it from one, may establish indeed a very ingenious theory, but brings forward, at best, a part only of the truth. 'The love of simplicity which leads men to reduce things to few principles, and to conceive a greater simplicity in nature than there really is,' is justly reckoned by Reid among the *idola tribus*, as Bacon calls them, 'the errors that beset the whole human species.'

We shall endeavour to point out the different powers of the mind which a tragedy interests, in the order of *seniority*. A child, we imagine, would only be induced to take up a play, whether tragedy or comedy, by the impulse of *curiosity* : his greatest pleasure, in reading Macbeth, would be to ascertain how the predictions of the witches were accomplished ; and, in Hamlet, how the Prince of Denmark ascertained the murderer of his father : yet he would read as eagerly as most grown people. Curiosity, however, is by no means confined to children ; it is a feeling as universal and as strong, as it is useful ; and there is scarcely any reader upon whom the interest of the fable is lost. Upon the interest of the fable, indeed, it is that dramatic critics are wont to spend their chief force. To what purpose are the Aristotelian *beginning, middle, and end*, of a piece, but to excite, to keep alive, and at length to gratify, the curiosity of the reader by the artful management and concatenation of the parts ? Or why is it that the Prometheus Vincetus and the Sampson Agonistes fail to interest us, but because the parts, having no connection, awaken no curiosity ? This is one evil of mythological stories. The end is known to every school-boy from the beginning : and, lest there should remain any doubt, any pleasing suspense, as to the means by which that end is to be brought about, Euripides, in general, takes care to let some deity explain, in the prologue, every incident of the play---an artful expedient for keeping alive the interest of the audience. In this point of view, his rival has a decided superiority ; and there is, perhaps, no drama more perfectly constructed, more artful in the gradual developement of the mystery, or more successful in interesting the reader in the result, than the *Ædipus Tyrannus* of Sophocles.

This, however, it may be said, is not a pleasure, arising out of the tragical nature of the story. This is true. In fact, we believe, it will be found that all children, and perhaps the greater part of readers, would rather that every tragedy should end happily---in the discovery of all wicked plots, the shame and discomfiture of the plotters, and the union of some tender couple. Some of our readers may recollect the numerous petitions which Richardson received, when finishing his *Clarissa*,

praying him to spare his heroine, and, settling a handsome revenue upon her out of the inexhaustible exchequer of the fabulist, to make her a comfortable provision for life. Still, however, the pleasure we have been insisting upon is, undoubtedly, a pleasure arising from every tragedy in a greater or less degree; and the more delight we can trace to this obvious source, the less there will be to be derived from any more peculiar one.

The next mental faculty that would open in a youth to the enjoyment of tragedy would be the *imagination*. We, who speak the same language that Shakespeare spoke, shall be excused for believing that the finest flowers of poetry are to be looked for in the drama. Is it to be wondered at, that a "high-spirited" youth should throw aside the pastorals of his childhood, and all the odes and epics of this "laggard age," for the inspiring harangues of young Henry on the field of battle, or Vernon's account of the royal army? or that he of tenderer feelings and a more sentimental cast, should find no poetry like the melancholy musings of Jaques, no beauty like the romantic loveliness of Miranda? The finest poetry of the drama, however, is that which is wrought up of pity and terror; and this brings us more immediately into contact with the question which we originally proposed to ourselves. And here we must have recourse to the theory of one, whose metaphysics are almost always to be doubted, and whose principles are almost always to be reprobated---we mean David Hume. In this instance, we think, he is right---though his theory is opened in the loosest and vaguest manner possible. We must explain it in our own way.

There is poetry too powerful for a mind in a listless and acquiescent state, just as there are sports and exercises too vigorous for a relaxed and languid body. To make the one and the other capable of these high gratifications, they must be braced and roused, the body by invigorating liquors, the mind in a manner suitable to its nature. There is a preparation necessary before it can effervesce on the application of these lofty fancies. The figures and images and expressions of a man under the dominion of violent passions, seem insanity to him whose mind is calm and unagitated. He must be made to sympathize with the sufferer, must feel in a measure the agonies of grief, and the palpitations of terror, and the madness of rage; and then he may enter into the higher and grander beauties of the tragic strain; the feelings are then suited to the subject.

This theory Hurd appears in no wise to have understood; or he would never have written about it in the following manner.

* But of all the solutions of this famous difficulty, that which we have just now received from Mr. Hume is by far the most curious.

' His account in short is, " That the force of imagination, the energy of expression, the power of numbers, the charms of imitation, are all naturally of themselves delightful to the mind ; that these sentiments of beauty, being the *predominant* emotions, seize the whole mind, and convert the uneasy melancholy passions into themselves. In a word, that the sentiments of *beauty*, excited by a good tragedy, are the superior prevailing movements, and transform the subordinate impressions arising from *grief, compassion, indignation, and terror*, into one uniform and strong enjoyment " *

' I have but two objections to this ingenious theory. One is, that it supposes the impression of grief or terror, excited by a well written tragedy, to be weaker than that which arises from our observation of the faculties of the writer, the power of numbers, and imitation ; which to me is much the same thing as saying, that the sight of a precipice hanging over our heads makes a fainter impression on the eye, than the shrubs and wild flowers with which it happens to be covered. The fact is so far otherwise, that, if the tragedy be well written, I will venture to say, the faculties of the writer, the charms of poetry, or even the thoughts of imitation, never came into the spectator's head. ' †

This is undoubtedly true, but then it is no more than is true of all other poetry, which should always so bring it's subject home to the reader, and so interest him therein, that his thoughts should not descend to such a being as the poet. The reader is for a while transported into another world ; to give him a glimpse of the labours of verse-making and rhyme-tagging, is to bring him back to this in a moment. Good poetry is a medium like the air ; no one recollects, when looking at an object in nature, that he sees it through any thing. The same may be said of painting. The same has been said, indeed, by one who wrote almost as well as he painted. ‡ Hurd's reasoning, therefore, (and it is in the true taste of the Warburtonian school,) proves nothing at all to the purpose. The critic, however, goes on :

* See four dissertations by D. Hume, Esq. p. 185, &c.

† Hurd's notes on v. 103, of Horace's *Art of Poetry*.

‡ ' Figures must have a ground whereon to stand ; they must be clothed ; there must be a back ground ; there must be light and shadow ; but none of these ought to appear to have taken up any part of the artist's attention. They should be so managed as not even to catch that of the spectator. We know well enough, when we analyze a piece, the difficulty and the subtlety with which an artist adjusts the back ground, drapery, and masses of light ; we know that a considerable part of the grace and effect of his picture depends upon them ; but this art is so much concealed, even to a judicious eye, that no remains of any of these subordinate parts occur to the memory when the picture is not present.'—Sir J. Reynolds's *Works*. Vol. I. pp. 83, 84.

' But he may feel the effect of them, it will be said, for all that. True : but unluckily the whole effect of these things is (and that was my other objection) to deepen the impressions of grief and terror. They are out of place, and altogether impertinent if they contribute to any other end. So that to say, the impressions of grief and terror from any magic story, strong as it is in itself, and made still stronger by the art of the poet, is a weaker impression, than the mere pleasure arising from that *art*, is methinks to account for one mystery by another ten times greater, and to make the poet a verier *magician* than Horace ever intended to represent him.*

Let us be judged by any of our readers, whether such passages as Othello's history of his courtship, or the account of Antony's first meeting with Cleopatra be 'out of place and altogether impertinent.' Granting, however, what we safely may grant, that the most touching scenes are the most poetical, what does this prove? Simply, we think, this, that poetry is the language of passion---of the feelings unbridled by reason; and that to write this poetry, and to taste this poetry, the bard and his reader must for a while put on the affections and afflictions of those who are supposed to utter it.

We foresee a much simpler objection to all this than the subtleties of Hurd. What is the difference, it may be said, between real misery, and the faithful representation of misery, to make the one so harrowing to the feelings, the other so agreeable? We answer,---that the poet's, the painter's, the sculptor's, the actor's, is not, never can be, never ought to be, a faithful representation of nature. We have spoken of this on another occasion; and shall only observe at present, how much of what is mean and disgusting, which necessarily accompanies real misery, is kept back in poetry, and how much of what is dignified and imposing is there addressed to the imagination. A company of strolling players, wishing upon some occasion to call forth the tears of their audience by the distresses of King Lear, were brought to a complete nonplus by the difficulties attending the representation of the storm. Thunder and lightning might be managed by the help of a large stone or two, and a small quantity of powdered rosin: but what was to be done for rain? Rain was indispensable; for it comes over and over again in Shakespeare; but the storehouse of the company furnished nothing in any degree resembling rain. At length one of the players, more ingenious than the rest, bethought himself of an expedient: an expanded umbrella is a certain indication of rain: and if the old king should be introduced holding one over his head, the rain might be supplied by the imagination of the audience. The expedient, says tradition, was adopted, and the success was unparalleled. Now had umbrellas been in use in the

* Hurd's Notes on Horace.

time of Lear, even his daughters might have granted him that accommodation, or at any rate the kind-hearted Gloucester would have furnished him with one, and the old king might have attempted to parry, in some degree, 'the pelting of the pitiless storm;' yet who does not find how much the imagination is offended with this useful appendage, and how ill it agrees with his thin grey locks, and the poetical effect of his situation.

Let it be added, too, that if, as is sometimes the case, the pathos of the poet should grow too powerful, the reader can always throw off the excess of his grief, by the reflection that the whole story is a fiction.

This account of the matter seems to us to come much nearer the truth, than the hypothesis which Burke has adopted, and which Akenside has so poetically drest in his *Pleasures of the Imagination*. We confess candidly for ourselves that we have never been able to understand this hypothesis, and have always suspected in secret that, when stript of its poetical and oratorical graces, it would be found, in plain prose, to assert that pain is pleasure. Surely an unbiassed reader must be somewhat startled with opinions like the following :

'To examine this point concerning the effect of tragedy in a proper manner, we must previously consider how we are affected by the feelings of our fellow-creatures in circumstances of real distress. *I am convinced we have a degree of delight, and that no small one, in the real misfortunes and pains of others.*'*

Ask the crowd
 'Which flies impatient from the village-walk
 'To climb the neighbouring cliffs, when far below
 'The cruel winds have hurl'd upon the coast
 'Some helpless bark; while sacred pity melts
 'The general eye, or terror's icy hand
 'Smites their distorted limbs and horrent hair;
 'While every mother closer to her breast
 'Catches her child, and, pointing where the waves
 'Foam through the shatter'd vessel, shrieks aloud
 'As one poor wretch that spreads his piteous arms
 'For succour, swallow'd by the roaring surge,
 'As now another, dash'd against the rock,
 'Drops lifeless down: O! deemest thou indeed
 'No kind endearment here by nature given
 'To mutual terror and compassion's tears?'†

Let us hear, however, how Burke supports his theory.

'Choose a day on which to represent the most sublime and affecting tragedy we have; appoint the most favourite actors; spare no cost upon the scenes and decorations; unite the greatest efforts of poetry,

* Burke on the Sublime and Beautiful. Part I. § 14.

† Pleasures of Imagination. Book II.

'painting, and music: and when you have collected your audience, just at the moment when their minds are erect with expectation, let it be reported that a state criminal of high rank is on the point of being executed in the adjoining square; in a moment the emptiness of the theatre would demonstrate the comparative weakness of the imitative arts, and proclaim the triumph of the real sympathy.'*

Now we think that the fact may be granted, and yet the inference denied. If, of all those who poured from the theatre to the execution, any could give an account why they did so, it would not be, surely, that they took a strange and savage delight in the convulsions and dying agonies of the criminal, but that they wished to see his behaviour, and to conjecture his feelings in those awful moments. '*Homo sum; humani nil a me alienum.*' The actions and the motives and the feelings of our fellow-creatures, in every situation, are ever the objects of our most lively curiosity, and our most industrious scrutiny. Upon this disposition Miss B. founds the pleasure derived from tragedy. She has illustrated her doctrine so ably, that a quotation or two from her shall finish our discussion of this trite, yet not uninteresting, question.

'If man is an object of so much attention to man, engaged in the ordinary occurrences of life, how much more does he excite his curiosity and interest when placed in extraordinary situations of difficulty and distress? It cannot be any pleasure we receive from the sufferings of a fellow-creature which attracts such multitudes of people to a public execution, though it is the horror we conceive for such a spectacle that keeps so many more away. To see a human being bearing himself up under such circumstances, or struggling with the terrible apprehensions which such a situation impresses, must be the powerful incentive, that makes us press forward to behold what we shrink from, and wait with trembling expectation for what we dread. For though few at such a spectacle can get near enough to distinguish the expression of face, or the minuter parts of a criminal's behaviour, yet, from a considerable distance will, they eagerly mark, whether he steps firmly; whether the motions of his body denote agitation or calmness; and if the wind does but ruffle his garment, they will, even from that change upon the outline of his distant figure, read some expression connected with his dreadful situation. Though there is a greater proportion of people in whom this strong curiosity will be overcome by other dispositions and motives; though there are many more who will stay away from such a sight than will go to it; yet there are very few who will not be eager to converse with a person who has beheld it; and to learn, very minutely, every circumstance connected with it, except the very act itself of inflicting death. To lift up the roof of his dungeon like the *diable boiteux*, and look upon a criminal the night before he suffers, in his still hours of privacy, when all that disguise is removed which is imposed by respect for the

* Burke on the Sublime and Beautiful, Part I. § 15.

opinion of others, the strong motive by which even the lowest and wickedest of men still continue to be actuated, would present an object to the mind of every person, not withheld from it by great tenuity of character, more powerfully attractive than almost any other.'

'How sensible are we of this strong propensity within us, when we behold any person under the pressure of great and uncommon calamity! Delicacy and respect for the afflicted will, indeed, make us turn ourselves aside from observing him, and cast down our eyes in his presence; but the first glance we direct to him will involuntarily be one of the keenest observation, how hastily soever it may be checked; and often will a returning look of inquiry mix itself by stealth with our sympathy and reserve.'

'What human creature is there, who can behold a being like himself under the violent agitation of those passions which all have, in some degree, experienced, without feeling himself most powerfully excited by the sight? I say, all have experienced: for the bravest man on earth knows what fear is as well as the coward; and will not refuse to be interested for one under the dominion of this passion, provided there be nothing in the circumstances attending it to create contempt. Anger is a passion that attracts less sympathy than any other, yet the displeasing and distorted features of an angry man will be more eagerly gazed upon, by those who are not wise concerned with his fury or the objects of it, than the most amiable placid countenance in the world. Every eye is directed to him; every voice hushed to silence in his presence: even children will leave off their gambols as he passes, and gaze after him more eagerly than the gaudiest equipage. The wild tossings of despair; the gnashing of hatred and revenge; the yearnings of affection, and the softened mien of love; all the language of the agitated soul, which every age and nation understand, is never addressed to the dull or inattentive.

'It is not merely under the dull agitations of passion, that man so rouses and interests us; even the smallest indications of an unquiet mind, the restless eye, the muttering lip, the half checked exclamation, and the hasty start, will set our attention as anxiously upon the watch, as the first distant flashes of a gathering storm. When some great explosion of passion bursts forth, and some consequent catastrophe happens, if we are at all acquainted with the unhappy perpetrator, how minutely should we endeavour to remember every circumstance of his past behaviour! and with what avidity shall we seize every recollected word or gesture, that is in the smallest degree indicative of the supposed state of his mind, at the time when they took place. If we are not acquainted with him, how eagerly shall we meet with similar recollections from another! Let us understand, from observation or report, that any person harbours in his breast, concealed from the world's eye, some powerful rankling passion, of what kind soever it may be, we shall observe every word, every motion, every look, even the distant gait of such a man, with a constancy and attention bestowed upon no other. Nay, should we meet him unexpectedly on our way, a feeling will pass across our minds as though we found ourselves in the neighbourhood of some secret and fearful thing. If invisible, would we not follow him in to his lonely

haunts, into his closet, into the midnight silence of his chamber? There is, perhaps, no employment which the human mind will with so much avidity pursue, as the discovery of concealed passion, as the tracing the varieties and progress of a perturbed soul.

‘ It is to this sympathetic curiosity of our nature, exercised upon mankind in great and trying occasions, and under the influence of the stronger passions, when the grand, the generous, and the terrible attract our attention far more than the base and depraved, that the high and powerful tragic, of every composition, is addressed.’

‘ Formed as we are with these sympathetic propensities in regard to our own species, it is not at all wonderful that theatrical exhibition has become the favourite amusement of every nation into which it has been introduced. Savages will, in the wild contortions of a dance, shape out some rude story expressive of character or passion, and such a dance will give more delight to their companions than the most artful exertions of agility. Children in their gambols will make out a mimick representation of the manners, characters, and passions of grown men and women; and such a pastime will animate and delight them much more than a treat of the daintiest sweetmeats, or the handling of the gaudiest toys. Eagerly as it is enjoyed by the rude and the young, to the polished and the ripe in years, it is still the most interesting amusement. Our taste for it is durable as it is universal. Independently of those circumstances which first introduced it, the world would not have long been without it. The progress of society would soon have brought it forth; and men, in the whimsical decorations of fancy, would have displayed the character and actions of their heroes, the folly and absurdity of their fellow-citizens, had no priests of Bacchus ever existed.’—*Series of Plays*, Introd. Disc. Vol. I. pp. 5—26.

The fair author proceeds, in her introductory discourse, to explain the motives of her undertaking.

‘ But the last part of the task which I have mentioned as peculiarly belonging to tragedy, unveiling the human mind under the dominion of those strong and fixed passions, which, seemingly unprovoked by outward circumstances, will from small beginnings, brood within the breast, till all the better dispositions, all the fair gifts of nature, are borne down before them, her poets in general have entirely neglected, and even her first and greatest have but imperfectly attempted. They have made use of the passions to mark their several characters, and animate their scenes, rather than to open to our view the nature and portraiture of those great disturbers of the human breast, with whom we are all, more or less, called upon to contend. With their strong and obvious features, therefore, they have been presented to us, stripped almost entirely of those less obtrusive, but less discriminating traits, which mark them in their actual operation. To trace them in their rise and progress in the heart, seems but rarely to have been the object of any dramatist. We commonly find the characters of a tragedy affected by the passions in a transient, loose, unconnected manner; or if they are represented as under the permanent influence of the more powerful ones, they are generally introduced to our notice

in the very height of their fury, when all that timidity, irresolution, distrust, and a thousand delicate traits, which make the infancy of every great passion more interesting, perhaps, than its full-blown strength, are fled.' pp. 37, 38.

Now this, we think, is not altogether fair. Surely the rise and progress of ambition are sufficiently traced in *Macbeth*; of love, in *The Tempest*, or *As you like it*; of jealousy in *Othello*. Surely in these plays the several passions that are the subjects of them are not 'introduced to our notice in the very height of their fury.' The truth is, however, that the birth and growth of every passion cannot thus be exhibited in the compass of five acts. This Miss B. herself found, when she was obliged to give the rise and progress of De Montfort's hatred 'in retrospect, instead of representing it all along in it's actual operation.' In her own *Orra* too, is not fear 'introduced in the very height of it's fury?' In the *Beacon*, are the circumstances traced which formed the buoyant and elastic temper of *Aurora*? are they even given in retrospect?---We add one more extract, specifying the plan on which her 'series' proceeds.

'From this general view, which I have endeavoured to communicate to my readers of tragedy, and those principles in the human mind upon which the success of its efforts depends, I have been led to believe, that an attempt to write a series of tragedies, of simpler construction, less embellished with poetical decorations, less constrained by that lofty seriousness, which has so generally been considered as necessary for the support of tragic dignity, and in which the chief object should be to delineate the progress of the higher passions in the human breast, each play exhibiting a particular passion, might not be unacceptable to the public.' p. 40.

There were several dangers attending such an undertaking. It was to be apprehended, in the first place, that the author, entirely taken up with the one passion that formed the subject of the play, should forget to give the hero any others, and should entirely neglect the subordinate personages of the piece. This error Miss B. has carefully avoided; she has presented us with monsters neither of wickedness nor perfection; and has managed in general to throw a sufficient quantity of character among her secondary heroes.

A second thing to be feared was the appearance of art. When the delineation of some one passion, it's gradual developement and ultimate effects, were to form the sole matter of a piece, it was natural that the author should be anxious to finish this insulated work highly, that she should be continually on the watch for every indication of this passion, every circumstance connected with it's operation. Having observed many such, she might naturally enough grow proud of her acquisitions, and be tempted to display the industry she had used, and the knowledge she had gained. Upon this rock Miss

Baillie has split: she has not learnt, or, having learnt it, she has not had courage enough to put in practice the maxim, *Ars est celare artem*,---it is the perfection of art to keep your art from appearing. Her puppets play about with admirable adroitness, but you see, every now and then, the wires and the springs, and the hand that guides them. It is here that the mighty powers of Shakspeare conspicuously shew themselves. He always seems, in his many and various characters, to have imagined them distinctly, felt them, and as it were for the time transformed himself into them; and thus without art, or effort, or study, to have done and said and thought just what was appropriate. His art is so great, that even with his supernatural characters, as Ariel, Puck, or Caliban, we become immediately acquainted, imagine them real, and never think of Shakspeare till the cooler moment of reflection and criticism. It is not so with Miss Baillie. She indeed imagines her characters correctly, studies them industriously, and gives them forcibly; but too frequently you see that they are saying what is put into their mouths, and you think of Miss Baillie, instead of Basil or De Montfort. The full and laborious stage-directions add very much to this.

A third danger to be avoided was, the resting too much upon the characters. So much interested herself in bringing out a particular passion, she might naturally enough suppose her reader to follow her with equal interest, and thus be somewhat disposed to neglect the fable and the poetry. This indeed she has in some sort avowed; she speaks of her's as 'a series of tragedies, of simpler construction, and less embellished with poetical decoration.' Why the construction should be simpler we do not very clearly see; it is in a busy plot that characters best develope themselves. And as for poetical decoration, true poetry, we say again, is the language of the passions, and the bursts and ebullitions of the feelings the very inspiration of the poet.

Another thing to be apprehended (and we shall mention no more) was, lest, in looking about for the signs and indications of passion, she should mistake 'accident for generality.' Sir J. Reynolds has censured Bernini for having made David, when representing him as just going to throw the stone from the sling, biting his under lip. The sculptor, he says, undoubtedly designed to give the expression of energy: 'but the expression is far from being general; he might have seen it an instance or two, and mistook accident for generality.' Whether Miss B. has not done the same, we think, may not unreasonably be questioned.

We have no longer time to follow the introductory discourse through comedy. Miss B. has divided it into the satirical, the

witty, the sentimental, the busy, and the characteristic. The two first might safely have been included under one head; satire without wit is as dull as it is malignant, and wit without satire is not often to be found.---A particular application of the foregoing remarks to Miss Baillie's dramatic compositions, must be reserved to a succeeding number.

Art. V. *The Character of Moses established for veracity*, as an Historian recording events from the Creation to the Deluge. By the Rev. Joseph Townsend, M.A. Rector of Pewsey, Wilts. 4to. pp. 448. 21 plates. Price 3l. 3s. Longman and Co. 1813.

THE Veteran who here steps forward to defend the cause of revelation against the attacks of scepticism, has, on former occasions, attracted the notice of the public, and repaid the curiosity of his readers in such a manner, as to insure him a favourable reception in his present difficult and delicate undertaking. A traveller, scholar, and philosopher of Mr. Townsend's acknowledged reputation, will not be suspected, in the evening of life, of knowingly risking his well-earned credit, by a crude or frivolous performance. Nor do we perceive any such indications of the age of the writer in the work before us, as might induce us to think, that he would now publish what, at a more youthful period, he would have thought it proper to withhold. This volume contains the condensed information acquired by the observation, reading, and conversation of a long and active life, detailed with great conciseness and simplicity. There are no attempts to lengthen out the subject; no endeavour to dazzle without enlightening, or to persuade without convincing; and be the reader's opinion of the argument what it may, we do not doubt, that, on laying down the book, he will acknowledge himself indebted to the author for a considerable supply of instruction and pleasure.

There are two points, however, of considerable importance in reference to the present work, which may admit of question---whether the inspired historian need the defence which is here brought forward, and whether the materials from which Mr. Townsend endeavours to establish his veracity, be capable of furnishing proof either on one side of the argument or the other. Convinced, as our reverend author is, of the affirmative in regard to these queries, he unquestionably deserves praise for undertaking that defence, and for directing the evidence of natural history to confirm the disclosures of revelation. But we must remark, that to be persuaded of the truth of a position, is far from implying the possession of abilities to demonstrate that truth,---nor is it necessary, indeed, that every truth should be demonstrable from a limited number of experiments and observations.

The sources from whence the authenticity of the Mosaic record is attempted to be demonstrated, and from which Mr.

Townsend draws his proofs, are, the records of the human race, as coincident with or contradictory to sacred writ, and those appearances of inert matter which seem, on the one hand to confirm, or on the other to discredit, the account of the creation of the earth, and that catastrophe by which it was afterwards transformed into a state whence its present condition has arisen, by the continued operation of known causes for a determinate number of years. Now with respect to historical records, we have none which bear a comparison with the Mosaic. The disordered dreams of oriental fancy, can neither be admitted as proof when they accord, nor as contradiction when they differ; ---for it would be difficult indeed to find the maniac in whose ravings three or four words might not occasionally form sense, or be formed into sense, particularly when the interpreter is at liberty to choose, out of a multitude of different meanings of each word, that which best suits his purpose. Tradition is evidence not much more admissible. Most nations preserve the tradition of a flood, but most nations have suffered by local inundations, and it is hardly possible to decide, whether their accounts of a general deluge be the exaggerated report of what happened within a few centuries, or the remnant of half obliterated truth. The study of nature might be expected to lead to surer results; but that part of this science which bears upon the formation and modification of this earth, has been so imperfectly studied, and abounds with such numerous and complicated difficulties, that no hypothesis, formed upon its present state, can furnish higher evidence of truth, than probability. The syncretical manner, however, in which most theories of the earth have been framed, renders them wholly useless as historical evidence. Instead of collecting observations on the present state of the earth, and, by tracing in retrograde order the effects produced by the various natural agents which are continually at work, endeavouring to analyse its state when their operation commenced, (a method ably and successfully employed by De Lac.) the generality of our world-makers eagerly appropriate such materials as best suit their humour---dissolve, consolidate, melt, sublime, evaporate, bake, boil and fry, according to such laws as they would have enacted had they been entrusted with the formation of planets ---interpose catastrophes, overwhelming continents, between the pages of recorded history---or, with a "by your leave," assume a few million of years additional, to bring their bantling to maturity: and having at last accounted for something with strata, and petrifications, and whin dykes, and granite, declare that it is no other than the identical globe which we inhabit. 'You will observe'---the philosopher concludes---that 'I have accounted for the deluge'---or, 'I have accounted for the formation.

of the world without a deluge, *consequently* the Mosaic account is, &c. &c.' Object that the author's researches, being confined to a kingdom or a county, or a hill, are conducted on a very limited scale: you will be assured that that county or hill is a complete specimen of the whole globe. Complain that, upon examination, the hill does not agree with the description laid down: you will be instructed that this is an exception, and that at John o'Groat's house---at Land's End---at the Cape of Good Hope---or at the south pole, it is precisely as it *ought to be*. The utmost that we expect of geology, at present, in reference to the scripture records, is, to shew that hitherto nothing has been discovered which obliges us to call in question the credibility of the inspired historian; nothing which is not perfectly reconcileable with his expressions, even when those expressions are tried by the severest rules of critical interpretation.

Mr. Townsend appears---for the drift of this part of his argument is not perfectly clear---to have aimed at nothing farther than, by minutely describing a small part of the surface of the globe, to shew that in this portion of our earth no phenomena occur contradictory to the Mosaic history; and, by additional remarks and observations, to guide his reader to the conclusion, that the geology of other countries is so far conformable to the formation of Britain, that no such contradictions are to be apprehended elsewhere.

From the preceding observations it will be seen, that we are disposed to rest the evidence of the truth of the Mosaic record, on much less dubious proof than is afforded, either by profane history or the study of nature; and we do this, not, most certainly, because we impute defect to the record, but because we are sensible of the imperfections of history and geology. The former can only be enriched in one direction, by the addition of events now future, but which will afford no increased qualification to determine the point in question. The latter can spread and is spreading in every direction; and should the scepticism of a future age require the counterpoise of additional evidence in favour of revelation, it is probable that the weight which providence would cast into the scale of truth, would be derived from the evidence of natural history. As yet it is not required, nor can we apply it;---but every step that advances it towards this important use is valuable, and in this light is great commendation due to Mr. Townsend.

From the concluding paragraph of his introduction we infer, that the present volume contains only the commencement of Mr. Townsend's observations on the character of Moses, which he proposes to consider from the Pentateuch as containing, '1. The history of mankind in the early ages of the world. 2. A code of laws designed for one particular people, chosen and cherished as

worshippers of the great Creator, and guardians of the oracles of truth. 3. Prophecies relating to this chosen race, through the long period of revolving ages, from their first entrance into Egypt, to their final expulsion from the land of promise, and dispersion among all the nations of the earth.' The work before us brings down the subject to the deluge, and divides itself into two very distinct parts; the former containing an accumulation of historical remarks, traditions, &c., more or less referable to the primitive state of the human race; and the latter an admirable account of the geology of the counties of Somersetshire, Wiltshire, and Gloucestershire, with a profusion of extracts from the author's own memoranda, and the narratives of travellers, respecting other parts of Britain and the rest of Europe.

After a chapter on the genuineness of the Pentateuch, and an introductory section to the second chapter, proving the credibility of the Mosaic history from internal evidence, Mr. Townsend enters upon the proof from external evidence; which occupies the remainder of the volume, under six separate heads, viz. the creation---the septenary division of time---the state of innocence and fall---sacrifices---tythes---and the deluge. To the five first of these heads 72 pages, and to the last 242, are allotted. To elucidate the Mosaic account of creation, we are presented with the usual quotations from Sanchoniatho, Hesiod, Homer, Aristophanes, Diodorus Siculus, Thales, Pythagoras, Empedocles, Socrates, Plato, and Zeno; with the Scythian tradition of the battle of the sons of Bor with the giant Ymer, from the Icelandic Voluspa; the Persian fiction, attributing the creation to Mithras or Mihr; the Indian superstitions of Brahma, Vishnu, and Seeva; the story of Bhagavat's damp nap of a thousand years in the primeval waters, previous to the formation of the first man, Swayambhuva Menu, and his consort Satarupa; the doctrines of Confucius; the Iroquois tale of Mr. Wolf's flight into heaven to seek for the first woman, whom he caught, when she came to draw water, with a bait of bear's grease; the Mexican account of Teotl and the heroes who leapt into the bonfire Teotihuacan; Buffon's dreams of blundering comets and bursting suns; and Hutton's scheme of consolidation and crystallization by fire. All these are concisely stated and considered, and the result is summed up in the following conclusions; which will evince the importance attached by our author to their evidence.

'In the first place, from the traditions to which I have referred, we have the strongest reason to believe, that all the nations of the world are descended from one family; a fact which, when we shall have examined their languages, will be abundantly confirmed. In the second place we have clearly seen, that, whilst the pure worship of Jehovah was preserved in one sequestered spot, all the surrounding nations, devoted to polytheism, as declared by Moses, were en-

slaved by the most detestable vices, the most execrable superstition, and the most absurd idolatry.'

'How inestimable then must we consider the authentic records which from generation to generation have been preserved in the sanctuary! Without them the whole human race would have been involved in midnight darkness. Many in this age of reason may pour contempt upon revelation. But what did our ancestors derive from unassisted reason? What the Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans, when this lamp burnt brightest? The first idolatry of rude nations was the worship of the celestial orbs, or rather of the deities who were supposed to take up their residence in them. This soon degenerated, and the luminaries themselves were worshipped as gods. The more civilized and learned nations improved upon this idolatry, and not only raised to the celestial hierarchy their heroes, but erected temples to the vilest passions of the human race. "Professing themselves to be wise, they became fools; and, having lost sight of a Creator, changed the glory of the incorruptible God into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and fourfooted beasts, and creeping things." 'Such was the triumph of reason unassisted by revelation!' pp. 57, 58.

Mr. Townsend proceeds to shew, that the septenary division of time, and the distinction of days by the names of the planets, is very generally prevalent. According to Sir W. Jones, the Gothic days of the week, and those of the Hindoos, are dedicated to the same luminaries, and revolve in the same order. Dion Cassius attributes a similar mode of distinction among the Romans to Egyptian origin; and Homer places the seventh day under the auspices of Saturn. According to Mr. de Gebelin, the same division formerly existed in China; traces of it are said to be found in Persia, Tartary, Japan, Peru and Chili; and Mr. Symes, in his Account of the Embassy to Ava, shews, that it is strictly adhered to in the Burman empire. Now 'since no physical cause can be assigned, why attention should have been paid to one day more than to the rest, or why this preference should have been given to the seventh,' our author infers that it must have originated in the divine institution recorded by Moses, and that it confirms the veracity of his record. The fables of the golden age, also, and the various devices of the Greek philosophers to account for the origin of evil, he refers to the Mosaic account of the fall; and he argues, though with less conclusiveness than might be wished, that the idea of sacrifice, being contrary to the human mind, must have originated in positive injunction.

The traditions of a deluge among different nations are very general. A few are enumerated by our author; but he seems to leave this species of evidence with pleasure, in order to enter upon the far more interesting, the geological part of his work.

The mode of procedure in this division of his subject, is, to give the reader a correct and general idea of geology, and to leave it afterwards pretty much to his own judgement to draw what conclusions respecting Moses he pleases. Indeed the sacred historian is scarcely mentioned in the remainder of the work; although, from an expression at the commencement of one of the last chapters, in which the author confidently hopes, 'that he has established the existence of an universal deluge, agreeable to the Mosaic history, to the satisfaction of his readers,' we infer that he supposes the materials he has furnished amply sufficient to authorize such a conclusion. As we do not think the credibility of the Pentateuch in want of the feeble support which geology can as yet afford, and have often noticed the bad effects of working young arguments beyond their strength, we willingly pardon Mr. Townsend for not having deduced a greater number of inferences, and drawn more positive conclusions from the valuable facts which he brings forward---and of which we shall now proceed to give our readers a brief abstract.

Mr. Farey, in his *Account of Derbyshire**, has given us an interesting description of the strata between the great red marle and the mountain limestone in Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, and part of Yorkshire. The strata more particularly elucidated by Mr. Townsend, occur between the red ground and the chalk, and are consequently superior in position to those mentioned in the Survey of Derbyshire. Some idea of the geographical situation of these strata may be formed, by tracing a line upon the map of England from Exmouth in Devon, through Yeovil, Warminster, Devizes, Farringdon, Oxford, Aylesbury and Woburn, to Lynn in Norfolk. To the south east of this line the strata alluded to sink beneath the great bed of chalk which forms their boundary on this side, though they still occasionally appear, on the sea-coast, in deep vallies, or where they have been lifted by convulsions of nature. To the north west of this line they basset out in succession, forming a belt of various breadth, in a direction from south west to north east, across the kingdom. In the north west parts of England and Wales, they are entirely wanting, being thrown out by the rising up of inferior strata. The perpendicular thickness of the whole pile, from the bottom of the chalk to the surface of the red ground, can hardly be estimated at less than one thousand feet, subject to some variations, though probably more constant than any other known succession of strata. The bed of chalk which rests upon them, is estimated to be from 300 to 600 feet in thickness.

The first stratum, which emerges from beneath the chalk, at Sidmouth, Honiton, Axminster, Lyme-Regis, Charmouth,

* See Ecl. Rev. Aug. 1812.

Bridport, Farringdon, Woburn, Ampthill, Northampton, Kettering, Rockingham, Peterborough, and Lynn, consists of three varieties of *sand*. The bed immediately under the chalk is of a greenish hue, from minute particles of a dark green substance being intermingled with the grains of quarry of which it is principally composed. This layer of sand, which is found, in some places where it has been perforated to be 14 feet, in thickness, contains a number interesting fossils. Mr. Townsend enumerates 'the porpital madreporites, serpulites, echinites, ammonites (particularly the oval species), nautilites, helicetes, trochites, chama gryphoides, anomia caput serpentis, and other species, claws of lobsters and glossopetræ.' It is deserving of notice, though not mentioned by our author, that the enormous ammonites and nautilites, three feet and upwards in circumference, so frequent in the green sand and in the lias, should be almost entirely wanting in the intermediate strata. The latter however do occur in the inferior oolite, and are called by the workmen lobsters' tails. Aleyonites are numerous. Indeed the nodules of stone interspersed throughout this stratum, almost universally indicate an origin derived from aleyonia or spongiæ, the zoophytic reliquium forming the nucleus.

'The covering of each cup is rounded like a skull, and, till broken, perfectly conceals the coral. The stem is equally concealed, except at the termination, which is universally abrupt, smooth in its surface, and, like the enclosing sandstone, sharp in its edge, so as to prove, that neither any fresh increase by corpuscular attraction, nor diminution by attrition and abrasion, has taken place since it was separated from its base.' p. 261.

The substance of these fossils, as well as of many of the shells found in the green sand, is chalcedonic. The grey sand succeeds beneath the green, and contains beds of calcareo-silicious sandstone or firestone; of which, according to our author, Westminster Abbey and Hall, London Wall, and Woburn Abbey are built. They are wrought at Meersham, at Beer in Dorsetshire, at Totternhoe in Bedfordshire, and near Calne in Wiltshire. The whetstone bed of Blackdown in Devonshire also belongs to the grey sand, and furnishes some of our most beautiful agatized shells. Mr. Townsend enumerates, on the authority of Dr. Menish, five species of *area*, one *chama*, six of *Venus*, two of *tellina*, three of *cardium*, two of *pecten*, two of *buccinum*, two of *strombus*, three of *trigonia*, &c. The lowest bed of sand is tinged red, by a mixture of calx of iron, and contains the iron ore which supplied the founderies of our ancestors, when smelting was performed by charcoal; but the forests, which formerly occupied the surface of the sand strata, having disappeared, it has been found more convenient to make use of the beds of iron stone accompanying the coal, and the iron stone

of these strata is neglected. The quern stone, (a pudding-stone of silecious pebbles cemented by a ferruginous silecious paste) is also a production of the red sand. Our author mentions no fossils peculiar to this stratum, though he says that 'we find most of the chalk fossils washed down, and imbedded in its upper surface.' This however must be merely accidental, as the sand stratum being inferior to the chalk, and consequently of earlier formation, cannot regularly contain any substance belonging to a stratum of more recent origin. These three beds of silecious sand make together a stratum, according to Mr. Townsend's calculation, at least 300 feet thick.

Beneath the sand we find a bed of *clay*, the thickness of which may be about 200 feet; but Mr. Townsend's account of this stratum is neither so ample nor so precise as it seems to deserve. He mentions that it is made use of for bricks, at Rowd near Devizes.

The *superior oolite* succeeds; being the first of three strata, which are distinguished by a structure resembling the roe of a fish, from whence the name is borrowed. They correspond with the marmor hammites of Linnaeus, the roggen and bersenstein of the German mineralogists; and, from the ease with which they yield to the wedge, hatchet, and saw, in any direction, are generally called freestone wherever they are worked. The superior oolite has not been well examined. It occurs at Steeple Ashton, Calne, and Shotover, but its thickness, though scarcely less than 40 feet, is not correctly ascertained. Its characteristic fossils are echinites, particularly the mammellated species, but the attendant sand also contains nerites, strombites, pectinites, and oysters. A bed of clay separates it from another stratum, still less perfectly known, the *calcareous grit*, composed of silecious sand with a calcareous cement, which is followed by the *coral rag*, a blueish grey, hard, ponderous rock, consisting almost wholly of coral and shells, but so full of fissures and interstices as to be serviceable only for repairing the high roads, and for lime, to which purposes it is applied to the west of Calne. A bed of this rock contains fossil-wood charred into a species of coal. The thickness of the coral rag is about 30 feet, and the mytilus cristagalli, mammellated echinites, trigonæ, pectinites, buccinites, mytilites, and pholades or fistulanas are abundant in every fragment: it beds upon a blue clay, and is sometimes succeeded by a second bed of calcareous grit.

Under these strata we have one 'called the *clunch clay*, with a mixture of marle, sand, shale, and even thin laminæ of coal.' This bed of clay, in which the Wilts and Berks canal runs, is at least 200 feet thick, and contains abundance of large gryphites, generally with a purplish stain, and belemnites, with other fossils, frequent in the alluvial gravel of Bedfordshire. The

thin seams of coal which occur, have given rise to numerous trials by *soi-disant* 'practical colliers,' at the expense of credulous and uninformed adventurers.

The *Kelloway rock* follows, so named from Kelloway Bridge, where it is quarried, for the purpose of mending the road. It is of a dark blue colour, probably stained by the clunch clay, strongly impregnated with iron, and abounds in petrifications, particularly the gryphite of the clunch clay, numerous arnomites, mytilites, ostreae, and beautiful ammonites in great variety. It appears to be from three to six feet in thickness, and rests on blue marly clay. Our author has traced its outcrop by Steeple Ashton, Trowbridge, Chippenham, Tytherton, Brinkworth, and Malmesbury, into Oxfordshire and Northamptonshire, and, if we mistake not, it also occurs to the north of Scarborough in Yorkshire.

The *corn-brash* which succeeds, is a pale yellow, shivered stratum, considerably thicker than the former, and applied only to repair the roads. Its fossils are, several species of anomia, particularly terebratula, spinosa, caput serpentis, and a non-descript, round, gibbous species, two or three species of pecten, mytilus modiolus, and some allied species which have not yet been named, echinus spatagus and mamellatus, with fragments of the pentracrinus. It extends from Temple Combe by Wolverton, Hinton, Tilsford, Melksham, Corsham, Grittleton, Malmesbury, Draycot and Sutton, to the northern borders of Oxfordshire, Buckingham, and Bedford. A bed of clay lies immediately beneath it, which frequently holds up the water, so as to render the corn-brash a very wet substratum; this may however generally be effectually remedied by judicious draining.

The *forest marble* is separated from the clay bed of the corn-brash by a bed of silicious sand and sandstone, which appears at the surface at Hinton. The forest marble has derived its name from having been first wrought for slabs and chimney-pieces in the forest of Deane. It consists almost wholly of shells, so perfectly conglutinated as to admit of a perfect polish, while it precludes the possibility of determining to what species they belong; bits of charred wood frequently occur imbedded in this stratum, and bufonites, palates, and glossopetrae are not unfrequent. The stratum is divided into numerous beds, of different thicknesses, by intervening beds of clay; its thickness may amount to 40 or 50 feet, where all the beds are found, of which somewhat more than half is charstone; the substratum is a whiteish clay.

The second, or *great oolite*, better known by the appellation of the Bath freestone, lies beneath the forest marble, and appears by Mr. Townsend's account to be at least 140 feet thick, as is also the clay and fuller's earth on which it rests. The

upper beds however are frequently wanting, so that the depth is considerably diminished. It forms the summit of most of the eminencies around Bath, and to the facilities thus afforded to architecture, that city owes its splendour. The principal quarries which supply materials for building in its neighbourhood, are those of Claverton Down, Combe Down, Anthony Hill, Box, Bathford, Kingsdown, Pickwick, and Farley Down; but the stratum may be traced from Mells to Hampton Common and the Cotswold hills. Mr. Townsend suspects the quarries of Barnack to be in the great oolite, but Mr. Farey assigns them a superior situation. In case the latter should prove correct, it is probable that the Barnack ragstone is a solid bed of the corn-brash, which occasionally partakes of the oviform structure of the oolites; but at any rate the Bath freestone has been distinctly ascertained through Somersetshire, Gloucestershire, Oxfordshire, Northamptonshire, Rutlandshire, Lincolnshire, and Yorkshire. In the body of the rock fossils rarely occur, but on the upper surface they are abundant, particularly *anomia reticularis*, and *sacculus*, several *ostreae*, and the singular *pear encrinurus*. The stems of the latter are found adhering to the rock, so that the consolidation of the stratum must have been completed before any part of the superior bed of clay was deposited upon it. The uppermost beds of the great oolite, which consist almost wholly of fragments of shells, conglutinated by a calcareous cement, contain pieces of wood, *bufonites*, and *palates*; and the fuller's earth rock, a stratum which occurs beneath the fuller's earth, has numerous petrified reliquia, by which it is readily detected.

Under the great oolite, the third stratum which is distinguished by this inexplicable structure makes its appearance, and is termed by Mr. Townsend the *inferior oolite*. The provincial name, where the great oolite is worked as freestone, is the *bastard freestone*, being generally soft and full of cavities, occasioned by the removal of shells and coralline substances which had been imbedded in it. This stratum may be traced on the map, from Yeovil, by Castle Cary, Bruton, Doulting, Radstock, Midford, Lansdown Crescent in Bath, Swanswick, Crosshands, and Cheltenham, into Oxfordshire and Northamptonshire. Its thickness is about 40 feet, and it rests upon a bed of sand very discernible at Midford, to the south of Bath, and, in the immediate neighbourhood of that city, of at least equal depth.

This porous rock abounds with *typolites*, or casts of marine shells, which have vanished, and left vacuities unoccupied by calcareous spar. It has likewise numerous fossil shells, by some of which it may be distinguished from all other rock strata. The first of these, at least as far as my observations extend, is a large oyster, of a

transverse fibrous texture, consequently extremely brittle, and seldom found entire. Its fragments exhibit a striated calcareous substance, brown, and resembling asbestos. . . This rock is likewise distinguished by its shingle of white quartz, and by the *anomia spinosa*. . . It may be identified by the bottom bed, charged abundantly with ribbed and studded *trigoniæ*, and with their casts, called *hippocephaloides*, immediately over which is a coral bed, which is compact, extremely hard, and susceptible of high polish. . . The coral bed contains the *madrepora cinerascens*, which is found recent in the Indian seas. One of these curious petrifications was standing upright more than five feet high, and expanding nearly six feet, with a double cap, much fractured, but no fragment scattered to a distance. The remains are to be seen near Midford. In its cavities it contains numerous coated *mytili*, with their cables covered by a crust, on some of which corals have begun to build The covering of our coated *mytilus* is perfectly smooth, unless when the coral polypus builds his habitation on it . . . Over the two beds of this rock which contain the corals and the *trigoniæ* . . in the superior bed we have found *nautilites*, *ammonites*, *volutes*, *trochites*, *turbinites*, *helix cochlea*, *helix decollata*, *arca noæ*, *madrepora porpita*, a variety of the *patella ungarica* and *ostrea diluviana*. The sand bed immediately under this rock contains on its surface numerous and perfect specimens of the *ostrea gibba*, *ostrea plica*, *ostrea edulis*, one species of *Venus*, &c.' pp. 271—274.

With respect to the coated *mytili*, or *fistulanæ*, as Parkinson has called them, Mr. Townsend appears to us to be under a mistake, in supposing that the envelope which now surrounds them, formed part of the animal. The fact seems to be this. The *mytili*, like the recent *pholades*, bored holes into corals, thick shells, and stones. . . The first part of the petrifactive process, which took place at the time the stratum was formed, consisted in filling up the space between the shell and the inside of the cavity which it had bored. This furnished the coating now adhering to the shell, and, where the cavity had been formed in a *madrepore*, obtained an impression from the section of the *madreporean* structure, as exhibited in Parkinson's *Organic Remains*, Vol. II. Pl. XII. fig. 1. That this is the origin of what Mr. Townsend takes to be incipient habitations of the *madreporean* polypus, is confirmed by the circumstance that the striae of the supposed coral are not perpendicular to the surface of the *mytilus*, but parallel to one another, and also by numerous similar casts in the surface of *madrepores*, the substance of which has been removed. The next process was the infiltration which furnished the calcareous spar of the shell itself; and the third removed the substance of the coral, shell, or rock, in which the cavities had been originally bored. Beneath the sand upon which the inferior oolite beds, we have a thin calcareous stratum called the *Yeovil marble*, and not far from it another, termed the *marle stone*, from having a fertile blue marle both above and

beneath it. The total thickness of these beds is from 60 to 90 feet, and in some places probably much more.

Most of the strata hitherto enumerated, exhibit a somewhat granular texture, seldom admitting of a polish, or possessing any extraordinary degree of hardness. The succeeding strata of *lias limestone* are of an even close texture, susceptible of a high polish, and equally esteemed in their recent state for repairing the roads, and, when burnt, for architectural purposes, particularly for water-works. Mr. Townsend mentions that 'the white *lias* may be readily engraved, and is now in request for the calico-printers, for maps, and for some kinds of drawings, in which service it is a valuable substitute for copper-plates.' The total depth of all the beds of *lias* cannot be much less than 100 feet, but individually few of them are above a foot in thickness, and most considerably less; they are separated by soft beds of clay, but the surface of the hard beds is far from even, being generally embossed with numerous protuberances; some of them are blue, others of a pale fawn colour. This stratum has been noticed on the south coast at Charmouth and Lyme Regis. From thence it may be traced by Chard, Castle Cary, Glastonbury, where it forms the base of the Tor, Chewton Mendip, Radstock, Farnborough, Stanton Prior, Keynsham, Cottham near Bristol, in the low country from Swansea bay to Cardiff and Newport, by Aberddaw, Gloucester, and Tewkesbury, around the Malvern hills by Dudley and Coalbrook Dale, south of Nottinghamshire, and through Yorkshire to the eastern coast at Tynemouth. The fossils of the *lias* are numerous and characteristic. *Ostrea gryphus*, ammonites of an enormous size, and some small oysters are very abundant, but the most remarkable are vertebræ, jaws, bones, and teeth of huge animals, probably species of the alligator. Mr. Townsend mentions one, in the possession of the Rev. P. Hawker, which was found near Bath, and with great industry extracted from its surrounding matrix.

'The head is three feet long, and from the eye to the extremity of the jaw is two feet nine inches. It is furnished with one hundred and twenty teeth, which are an inch and an half long, sharp pointed and well preserved. At different times Mr. Hawker procured from the workmen fifty joints of the spine, measuring together six feet, and six joints of the tail, with many vertebræ, and some other bones not well defined.' pp. 275, 276.

Similar jaws are found at Charmouth, but Mr. Townsend gives the figure of one of a different structure, specimens of which are met with occasionally in the *lias*. The anterior part is polished, and neatly ribbed in a longitudinal direction. As far as we are acquainted with the skeletons of animals in general, we know of no instance of a bone or mandible with a similar surface being concealed beneath muscles and skin, while, on the other

hand, we are equally at a loss to find an analogue for a quadruped or aligator with a naked toothed bill in place of jaws. Cuvier has rendered it more than probable that the Maestricht animal was an inhabitant of the sea; we are inclined to suspect that the originals of our aligators frequented the same element, as their remains are accompanied with the briarean pentacrinite, shells, and even sometimes fish. The lowest bed of the lias contains a vast assemblage of palates and joints of the pentacrinus, with teeth and fragments of bone, and is visible at Westbury cliffs, near the Severn. Beneath the beds of lias are twenty-four feet of a fertile blue marle.

From the above abstract of this part of Mr. Townsend's work, our readers will be enabled, in some degree, to judge of the value and precision of his information concerning these strata; and we do not hesitate to assert, that not only no account has hitherto been published which bears a comparison with his description of them, but that no district of equal extent with that surrounding Bath, which our author has illustrated, has yet been examined with such patient industry and philosophic impartiality. Mr. Townsend candidly refers part of his information to Mr. William Smith, of Midford, who appears to have led the way in exploring this stratified portion of our island. Mr. Farey had previously acknowledged him as his tutor, and the unqualified praise bestowed by all geologists who have occasion to mention his discoveries, cannot but excite an eager wish that he would soon present the public with the results of his long and laborious exertions. These observations of Mr. Townsend's are alone sufficient to render the work before us of no ordinary importance to the geologist, and he deserves additional praise for having explained the subject in a manner perfectly intelligible even to those who are not initiated into the phraseology of modern systems. That this perspicuity is the result of an experimental acquaintance with his subject, the writer of this article is convinced, from having had an opportunity of verifying Mr. Townsend's observations on the spot, in a very considerable number of instances.

Our author's remarks on the *red ground*, *coal strata*, and *mountain limestone*, are interesting and valuable, but either too widely dispersed, or too partial, to afford those general results which may be derived from his observations on the oolite stratification. The red ground in the vicinity of Bristol appears to differ considerably from that of Shropshire, Cheshire, &c. Indeed we are not convinced that Mr. Townsend is correct in accounting them the same stratum. The Somersetshire red ground appears immediately below the lias, and upon the top of the coal strata it does not generally exceed 100 or 180 feet, and contains marle beds, grit rocks, mill-stone, and pennant flag-stone; its

fossils are the remains of aquatic plants, which Mr. Townsend has, probably by a slip of the pen, termed *marine* plants, and which are precisely the same as those found in the coal and grey sandstone strata of Yorkshire and Derbyshire. Among the productions of the red ground in the neighbourhood of Bristol, the sulphat of Strontian deserves notice; according to Mr. Townsend it occurs at Wickwar, 'both stratified and in veins.'

Our author gives a comprehensive sketch of the coal geography of England, and indicates the principal coal fields in different parts. The Gloucestershire and Somersetshire coal district has been very imperfectly investigated, but appears to contain several distinct coal-fields. The best defined of these is in the vicinity of Puckle-Church.

'It consists of two ellipses, external and internal, which are nearly concentric. In the external range the coal is not so considerable as in the internal. The beds are numerous but small. Yet even in the external range at Siston, one out of ten beds of coal discovered in sinking fourscore fathom, is three feet in thickness. All these are separated by either argillaceous or silecious strata, and all dip towards one common centre, but flatten as they descend, so as to assume not a conical form, but that of a wide bowl dish. In Somersetshire, the coal district is distinctly bounded to the south by the limestone of Mendip hills, near to which the general dip of the coal beds is to the north, whilst the surface of the country dips south and south-east. On the northern limits of this coal field, the beds dip south. Forty-six beds appear on Stratton Common, all workable, besides many others of inconsiderable value

'Between the wide extremes of these Gloucestershire collieries and those of Mendip, we have others whose limits are not well defined at Radstock, Camerton, Newton, Hanham, Bedminster, and Kingswood, in which the beds dip in every possible direction. These last are separated by deep vallies, and covered by the red ground, but although in the deepest of these mines they have sunk 120 fathom, they have not penetrated to the mountain limestone.

'To the west of these collieries we have another coal field at Nailsea and Kenn. . . . They have here already discovered ten seams.' pp. 159—161.

Our author has collected much information respecting the coal fields of the forest of Dean, of South Wales, of Shropshire, Leicestershire, Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, Flintshire, Lancashire, Westmoreland, Cumberland, Durham, and Northumberland, which all contribute to prove the great diversity existing in different places, and to shew how much is yet required to afford us a distinct idea of the actual state of these curious formations. At Puckle Church they sunk sixty feet through lias, one hundred and fifty-three through red ground, six feet in duns when they found coal, and beneath the coal one hundred and eight feet of red ground, without either coal or limestone. At Clydash, in Monmouthshire, argillaceous and silecious strata have

been found beneath the coal to the depth of 360 feet, and in the forest of Dean these strata measure from 12 to 1800 yards in thickness. In the present state of the geology of this island our knowledge of the succession of strata between the lias and the mountain limestone, is extremely confused and uncertain. The mountain limestone, however, is a stratum which may be readily ascertained by its fossils. It appears in Somersetshire and Gloucestershire, to the north of Bristol, forming St. Vincent's rocks, but is devoid of the intermediate beds of toadstone, basalt, or amygdaloid, which occur in Derbyshire, nor does it appear to be equally productive of metals; yet the stratum may be perfectly identified from Torbay, through the Mendip hills, by the side of the Malvern hills to the Peak in Derbyshire, to Ingleborough, Wharfedale, and Pennigent, in Yorkshire, and into Durham and Northumberland. Our author remarks that this stratum is not by any means regular, but seems to form basins of vast extent, in which the coal formations are deposited, and in proof of it adduces numerous observations. The dip of the beds appears to be towards the centre of these basins, and the dip of the coal conforms to the limestone beneath; on the contrary, the dip of the whole succession of lias and oolite strata, together with the incumbent chalk, is uniformly to the south east, and so rapid that they would be lost in a much shorter space than is actually the case, were it not for a succession of faults which throw them continually up again. The total dip of the chalk, from Devizes to London Bridge, is about one thousand feet; while the mountain limestone at Wick, near Bath, makes an angle of 45° to the horizon, dipping N. W. and at Caerphilly, in Wales, the same angle to the south.

Our author has a very interesting section, marked by great accuracy of observation, on the crop and dislocation of the strata, a proper knowledge of which is the foundation of geological science. Our limits do not permit us to enter into an investigation of the subject; but the following passage may serve to shew such as have studied systems of nature what difficulties occasionally occur.

' In the quarries at the summit of Anthony Hill, near Bath, we meet with a very interesting dislocation. Here are seen only the bottom beds of the great oolite rock, which are...1. A bed of rubble six feet; 2. Beds of ragstone, nearly horizontal, 21 feet in thickness, lying perfectly flat on a smooth face of the subjacent beds; 3. Pure oolite, with its beds dipping S. W. in an angle of 45° . Its beds are all truncated at the upper surface, in one straight feather edge, and the whole lies with a smooth truncated face on a bed of ragstone, which like the upper ragstone, is nearly horizontal. The same dipping beds, enclosed between two horizontal beds, are to be seen at Burnthouse-gate, and on the Gloucester road. But what is still more remarkable, is to find...in the parish of Mells, rhom-

boidal beds of the ragstone truncated, . . . and confined between two horizontal beds of clay, of which the uppermost is yellow and the undermost is blue. We can scarcely conceive that such dipping beds were ever horizontal, as the laminæ make it probable that they were. If they were once horizontal, in what state or condition were they when this dislocation, producing their angular position, took place? Were they soft? Why then did they not subside, and again assume an horizontal position? Were they indurated? By what agent then were the horizontal sections made, so as to leave a flat, rhomboidal, and perfectly smooth surface, incumbent on and covered by soft beds of clay?" p. 200.

Intimately connected with the crop and dislocation of the strata is the rising of springs, which often convey information to the experienced eye, by a line of rushes, where distance or the cover of vegetable earth render an examination of the substratum impossible. This subject seems to be a favourite with Mr. Townsend, and he renders it instructive and amusing. It deserves remark, and may be placed among the numerous proofs of the wisdom of Providence in accommodating inert matter to specific purposes, that every porous stratum of rock has its corresponding bed of tenacious clay or marle beneath it, which holds up the water filtrating through the rock above; dislocations of the strata occasion these beds of clay to deliver the water in the form of springs, which would otherwise be conducted along their regular declivity into the abyss.

Mr. Townsend's remarks on the geology of foreign countries are unavoidably of a more desultory nature, but they form a very interesting collection. Many are original; and his readers are under great obligations to him for having extracted the rest from the mass of matter, often unimportant and perplexing, with which they were blended in the descriptions of travellers. In examining the systems of the moderns, he does ample justice to the accuracy and industry of the venerable De Luc, and adds several new facts to those produced in contradiction to Hutton and Playfair; but we must defer any observations which we had intended to make on this part of his work, to an opportunity which we shall shortly take of noticing, though later than we wished, the travels of the former gentleman.

In a section entitled 'Geological Conjectures,' Mr. Townsend seems to be desirous of giving credit to Plato's story of the immersion of the island of Atlantis, and attributing to this cause the depression of the sea which produced the flat ground of Egypt and China. We are however at a loss how to explain a depression of the sea by an event which appears calculated to have directly the contrary effect; nor do the arguments brought forward in support of the eruption of the Black Sea, seem sufficiently conclusive. Our author then mentions the hypothesis, that the earth has shifted her axis, and adduces in proof the cir-

cumstance, that shells peculiar to warm countries are discovered petrified in the colder regions of the north; but we apprehend that he has taken the identity of recent and petrified species upon the authority of others, rather than from his own observation. At least in referring the reliquia of elephants found in Britain to the Asiatic species, he forgets that Cuvier has indicated a most decided difference between them. Mr. Townsend's third 'conjecture' intimates the probability that the term *days* in the Mosaic account of the creation, simply implies *periods*. In the fourth, relating to the formation of the nodules of flint, which occur in the chalk stratum, we think he unnecessarily multiplies causes, by admitting that some may have been produced by fusion. Infiltration appears to us quite sufficient to produce all the appearances under which they are found.

The concluding section discusses the 'importance of geology, to gentlemen of landed property---to civil engineers---to builders---to commissioners of the highways---to brickmakers, statuarys and marble masons---to cloth manufacturers---to coal adventurers and mineral adventurers of all kinds---and lastly to all who are interested in establishing the credibility of a divine revelation. The first series of points he proves by numerous apposite anecdotes of the needless expence incurred, and useless precautions taken, for want of a little geological information. Thus coal pits, or pits intended to reach coal, have been sunk from the foot of the chalk stratum, and even in the chalk stratum, some of which have reached the top of the great oolite, while others have never even got into the sand; circumstances which a slender acquaintance with this science would have enabled the adventurers to foresee. Drains have been dug and wells sunk, in an equally preposterous manner. Materials have been fetched ten miles to mend sandy roads, though excellent stone for the purpose might have been got within a few feet of the surface over which it passed. Gypsum was procured from Paris, and the exportation of fuller's earth made felony; though we have abundance of the former, and the latter regularly attends the great oolite. The last consideration, that the evidence of geology tends to confirm our belief in the truth of scripture, brings us safely back again, after an excursion of somewhat more than 300 pages, to the place where we left Moses. We must however confess, that, notwithstanding an attentive perusal of Dr. Townsend's work, we are not quite certain whether he attributes the stratification of the superior part of the earth's surface to the flood, to the successive periods indicated by the expression *days* in the Mosaic record, or to a time antecedent to the chaos mentioned by the inspired historian; or whether he thinks the flood the cause of the change of situation of the strata from an horizontal position, in which they must have been formed, to their

present inclined situation; or, lastly, whether he limits its operation to the excavation of vallies, the production and deposition of alluvial gravel evidently composed of the detritus of pre-existing strata, and the formation of those beds containing the reliquia of mammalia.

The plates contain figures of fossils arranged according to the different strata; but we must express our regret that they are not all original, nor as well executed as the work deserves: they however form a very useful and valuable addition, which will enable the beginner to distinguish the respective beds with tolerable certainty. Errors in orthography, particularly of proper names, are very numerous.

Art. VI. *Sermons, for Parochial and Domestic Use*; designed to illustrate and enforce, in a connected view, the most important articles of Christian faith and practice. By Richard Mant, M.A. Vicar of Great Coggeshall, Essex, and late Fellow of Oriel College. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. xvii. 767. Rivingtons. 1813.

SOME months ago it fell in our way to examine the labours of Mr. Mant as a theological controvertist. The ignorance and inaccuracy, together with the lamentable want of judgement, of penetration, consistency, and fair dealing, all aggravated by lofty pretensions, which he betrayed on that occasion, excited a hearty wish that it might not be our lot again to encounter him in any shape. We will fairly confess, however, that, in reading these volumes, we have been much less offended than, from his former work, we had reason to expect. In these sermons, composed when his mind was calm and collected, the author has frequently surprised us, by his agreement with the 'evangelical, or methodistical, or calvinistical' clergy, on those points which they hold in common, and which distinguish them from other teachers. It is somewhat curious to observe how Mr. Mant, compiler of "*Sermons for parochial and domestic use*," harmonises with those persons whom Mr. Mant, the Bampton lecturer, so vehemently impugned. For the purpose of illustrating this singular fact, it may be worth while to make a few extracts.

On the subject of man's corruption and consequent inability to please God by thoughts or deeds, Mr Mant thus expresses himself.

'Together with a loss of original righteousness, a want of the power to recover the righteousness we had lost, entered into our nature by the disobedience of Adam. The Christian revelation differs materially from the Jewish; in that it represents in a clearer and stronger light the inability of weak and sinful man to keep God's commandments. Perfect obedience to God's commandments is what we cannot pay. How could we, who are naturally "dead in tres-

passes and sins" be "quickened" of ourselves with fresh life, breathe into ourselves a new spirit, and from the seeds of corruption bring forth the fruits of holiness?" Vol. I. pp. 36, 256. Vol. II. 32, 80.

While Mr. Mant thus accords with the "evangelical" teachers on the subject of human depravity, he is equally particular and explicit with them in ascribing all that is devout and virtuous in the faithful, to the influence of the Holy Spirit.

'As we have our faith by illumination, so by inspiration we have our holiness: they are given to us, both from without. It is Jesus Christ who sendeth us the Holy Spirit, by whom we are regenerated, and renewed, and sanctified, and strengthened, and enlightened, and comforted; by whom we are enabled to "repent and believe the Gospel." It was not more necessary that Christ should die for our salvation, than that he should afterwards supply us with his grace to lead us into the paths of righteousness, and to enable us to persevere therein unto the end.' Vol. I. pp. 37, 328. Vol. II. 80.

On the utter insufficiency of works or virtues to merit the favour of God, on the efficacy of Christ's obedience and death for the pardon of sin and restoration to the divine favour, and on obedience to the precepts of the Gospel, not as a condition of justification, but as the fruit and evidence of true faith, not as the cause but the measure of future reward, it would be difficult to find in the writings of the "evangelical" teachers any thing stronger or more distinct than the following passages.

"The wages of sin is death," as St. Paul says, meaning evidently to point out the great relation between the thing done, and the recompense received for doing it: not such is that "eternal life," which he contrasts with the death of the sinner: "but the gift of God," he adds, "is eternal life, through Jesus Christ our Lord." Here is no debt, no obligation, no wages; nothing which man can claim; nothing more than it pleases God of his infinite mercy freely to bestow. He is indeed graciously pleased (so infinite is his mercy) to promise us "eternal life," as a recompense and a reward of our diligence in serving him: and even to declare, that that recompense shall be conferred upon us in different degrees, and shall be greater or less in proportion to the diligence with which we serve him. But whilst this most gracious promise should have the effect, as it was doubtless intended to have, of stimulating our exertions, and making us more ardent in our love, and more active in our service of God; we should beware of so considering it, as if it was intended to make us regard any thing in ourselves, as the meritorious cause of that recompense. If we reject that name (of Jesus Christ) whither shall we turn? on what foundation shall we rest our hopes? what powerful plea have we prepared to present at the judgment seat of God? what offering to conciliate his affection? what atonement to propitiate his anger? Christian morality assumes to itself no merit: it sets up no arrogant claim to God's favour: it pretends not to "open the gates of heaven:" it is only the handmaid in conducting the Christian believer in his road towards them. We insist continually upon the utter in-

competency of mankind to purchase salvation by their own merits or deservings; and preach unto you salvation through the alone merits of Jesus Christ.' Vol. I. pp. 53, 63, 54, 66, 92.

These extracts, taken from many passages of similar import, may suffice to show the resemblance of Mr. Mant's doctrine to that which is held by those who are stigmatized as the 'Calvinistic, self-called Gospel preachers.' But without pursuing this subject farther, it is time to give a more particular account of these Sermons.

Few of the modern writings of the national clergy, in the opinion of Mr. Mant, were adapted to parochial and domestic instruction. He resolved, therefore, to supply this deficiency, and publish a collection of plain discourses on some of the most important articles of faith and practice, in which 'the truths of the Christian faith are so proposed as to be made the foundation of Christian practice; and the duties inculcated are of such a character, and are enforced by such motives, as become the followers of Christ.' In prosecuting this undertaking, he has availed himself largely of 'the works of some of our most valuable divines'---Andrews, Beveridge, Barrow, Mede, and Jones. The sermons, in all thirty-one, are on the following subjects:

Comparative value of the world and of the soul: The gospel, the only foundation of religion and moral duty: Eternal life, the gift of God in his Son: On the divinity of the Word: The son of man, the saviour of that which was lost: The love of God, the motive to man's salvation: The sufferings of our Saviour unexampled: The humility and patience of our Saviour: Christ crucified, a motive to holiness, and a pattern for imitation: Insufficiency of works of righteousness to purchase salvation: Obedience to Christ necessary to the salvation of Christians: Effects of disobedience exemplified in the punishment of Saul: Deceitfulness of sin and efficacy of repentance, exemplified in David's fall and restoration: On the existence and divinity of the Holy Ghost: Necessity, evidences, and means of receiving the Holy Ghost: The fruits of the spirit exemplified in the character of Joseph: The spirit of God manifested by his fruits: Pride a worldly quality, irreligious, and irrational: Uncleanness inconsistent with a profession of the Gospel: The danger and sinfulness of covetousness exemplified in Ahab: Malice incompatible with the Christian character: The doctrine of grace a motive with St. Paul for humility and diligence: Efficacy and requisites of prayer: Self-deceit of those who are hearers, but not doers of the word: Necessity and benefits of baptism: Necessity and benefits of the Lord's supper: The duty and advantage of church communion: Spiritual blessings no privilege for sin, exemplified in the punishment of the Jews [?] in the wilderness: The uses of affliction: The death of the righteous: The glory which shall be revealed.

Without stopping to remark on the phraseology of these ti-

ties, some of which, it must be confessed, are sufficiently strange, we would observe that the general denomination of the sermons given in the title page is somewhat deceptive. The discourses, for the most part, have no connexion with each other. Of 'the most important articles of Christian faith and practice,' it must be a very imperfect 'view,' in which no distinct space is allotted to the atonement of Christ, faith, repentance, conversion, justification, the love of our neighbours, progress in purity and virtue, the general judgement, and the future punishment. But though it is evident that Mr. Mant has failed in filling up his professed plan, yet we readily allow that the topics on which he treats, are of great moment, and his matter is sufficiently plain. In doctrine his errors are by no means numerous, and he evinces a laudable anxiety to place morality on its proper basis---every where insisting on its inseparable connexion with piety. His manner is rather earnest. The subjoined extract will show how he illustrates scripture doctrine.

'This leads me to remark, in the fourth place, that Jesus Christ is the only foundation on which we can build, inasmuch as it is he who renders our services acceptable to Almighty God. Notwithstanding the weakness of our nature be strengthened and supported by the divine grace, no service, that we can offer, is of itself worthy of being received by infinite perfection. The sacrifice which ought to be offered to him, if it would claim acceptance with him, is a sacrifice without blemish. But what is the human offering, that can aspire to this distinction? What is the offering that we can make, which is not debased by much unworthy mixture, whether of thought, word, or deed? Whose heart, if diligently communed with, will venture to reply, that no mixture is blended with the motives, which prompt him to the service of God; or with the manner, in which that service is performed? Whose heart will not tell him, that there is much in it, which renders it unfit to appear before an infinitely holy God? To render the offering of such a heart an acceptable sacrifice, there is needed mediation of one, who knows not and never knew sin. In Christ Jesus was that mediation. He made a propitiation for us, by dying for us upon earth: he maketh intercession for us in heaven, where he ever sitteth for that purpose on the right hand of God. He formerly submitted to be our victim, the sacrifice for our sins, when he shed his most precious blood upon the altar, the altar of the cross, to redeem us from the penalty, which our disobedience deserved: he now ever liveth above as our high priest; receives our worship and other offerings to Almighty God; clothes them, imperfect as they are, with perfect righteousness; pleads for them, undeserving as they are, his own all-suffering merits, and so makes them acceptable unto his father. "If any man sin, we have an advocate with the father, Jesus Christ the righteous; and he is the propitiation for our sins." He is the foundation on which we must build our hopes, that our sins will be forgiven, our

services accepted, and ourselves admitted into favour by God.' Vol. I. pp. 38, 40.

In the ensuing passage may be observed the purity of his moral code. Having remarked that it is needless to be surprised at the opposition of the maxims of the world to those of the Gospel, he proceeds as follows :

' The mind of the child is soon impressed with the necessity of entertaining, what is called by the strange inconsistency and perversion of language, "a proper pride." As young persons make their entrance into life, they are instructed to "take pride" in distinguishing themselves, and surpassing their fellows. The force of early instruction and of general example co-operates with the propensities of a vicious nature, prone to weakness and vanity; till, as we grow up, we make no scruple of professing that we "pride ourselves" on a variety of things which we speak, think, or do. Nations are only aggregates of individuals: and it is natural that the feelings of the several members should be transferred to the body at large. If a bountiful Providence exempts us from miseries, to which our less favoured neighbours are exposed, and showers on us peculiar blessings, we represent ourselves as placed on a "proud eminence:"—if Almighty God crowns our army with victory, it is celebrated as a "proud day" for England:—if we are reminded of our national demerits and offences, we do not perhaps deny the charge; but advert- ing to some more pleasing trait in the national character, or to some splendid act of national benevolence, we thank God, with the same pharisaical humility, that we have something to be "proud of."

' Now whatever may be intended by this quality of "pride," which we inculcate and adopt as a principle of action, and a ground of self-congratulation, our language at least is certainly not in harmony with the language of Christianity; but it has, I apprehend, an obvious tendency to confound in our minds the distinction between right and wrong; and to diminish our abhorrence of a quality, which is totally inconsistent with the temper recommended by the Gospel, and which the Gospel explicitly condemns. Look to the constituent parts of that character which our Saviour proposes as the model for a Christian's imitation, and on which he promises especial blessings, in the beginning of his sermon on the mount; and you will find that it consists of dispositions, in which pride has no portion. The first three blessings are pronounced on the "poor in spirit;" on "them that mourn;" and on "the meek:" and the qualities which follow, are all of a kindred temper. Look to the example of our blessed Lord, whose life is especially proposed as a pattern of humility, patience, and meekness. Look to the conduct of his apostles, who in imitation of their master, were made (in the forcible language of St. Paul) "as the filth of the world, and the off-scouring of all things." Look to the character which our Saviour gives of pride, where he enumerates the moral defilements of the heart of man, and classes it with adulteries, thefts, and murders. Look to the portraits which St. Paul exhibits of the reprobate condition of the heathen world, and of those "perilous times, which should come in the last

day : and you will find pride introduced among their characteristic features. Look to the contrast, which the scriptures repeatedly mark between the respective rewards, as well as the natures of the Christian and the opposite temper, where it is said, that "God resisteth the proud, but giveth grace to the humble." Look finally to the reason of all this in the assertion of the text, where St. John coupling "the pride of life" with "the lust of the flesh, and the lust of the eyes," in other words with sensuality and covetousness, affirms, that "it is not of the Father, but is of the world:" that it is not of heavenly origin, the valuable and fruitful gift of the Holy Spirit of God; but is, on the contrary, derived from "the god of this world," sinful as a principle, and mischievous in its tendency." Vol. II. pp. 46, 50.

We add one more passage, as a further illustration of Mr. Mant's pointedness and fervour.

'Now, what is your behaviour with regard to these things? Do you join in the service when you are directed? For instance, do you repeat those parts of the Liturgy which you are required to repeat with the minister, especially the general Confession and the Lord's Prayer? Do you read with him aloud the alternative verses of the Psalms, thus expressing your adoration, petitions, and thanksgiving to God, in the language of inspiration? Do you utter the responses after the minister, especially those addresses to the throne of grace, wherein you are instructed to pray for God's mercy and deliverance from evil in the Litany, and for grace to keep his commandments in the Communion Service? and do you give the sanction of your assent to every prayer which the minister offers in your behalf by pronouncing earnestly *Amen*, at the conclusion of it? If you thus join in the public worship of the congregation, do you join in such a manner as to shew that you know and feel and pay regard to what you say? Are you never sitting at your ease, when you should be kneeling? Are you never whispering and laughing with your neighbour, when you should be listening with reverence to hear the word of God, or offering him your thanks and prayers? Are you never gazing about you, and suffering any trifling occurrence to withdraw your attention from your devotions, or perhaps not endeavouring to fix it upon them at all?' Vol. II. pp. 177, 179.

This is undoubtedly good. The value of the discourses, however, as an addition to the common stock of parochial and domestic instruction, we cannot estimate very highly. Mr. Mant's sermons are plain, not because he simplifies what is difficult or illucidates what is obscure to ordinary minds, but because he deals so largely in truisms---introducing them not for the purpose of useful inference or application, but as if he was really saying something new and striking. He is often, too, very injudicious. For instance, in the sermon on 'the insufficiency of works of righteousness to purchase salvation,' after showing, in the first part, that we cannot procure salvation by obedience to the revealed will of God, he goes on very gravely

and very earnestly to convince his readers that the morality of modern philosophers, such as Hume, is equally insufficient for that purpose. Mr. Mant by no means makes the most of his principles. The love of God and of Christ he applies but sparingly as stimulants to duty. He brings forward but little that is at all adapted to rouse the mind, to touch the conscience, to make the guilty tremble. But the great defect of these sermons, which they share in common with a large mass of oral as well as religious instruction, consists in being inappropriate. They have nothing in them peculiar to those who read them. Refutations of errors of which the persons to whom they are addressed never heard, argumentations in favour of what is plain or what they firmly believe, cold general descriptions of vice, bear the same relation to useful efficacious sermons that the declamations of the rhetorician bear to the "sound speech" of the orator. "Rightly to divide the word of truth," is a service requiring no ordinary skill. Much observation on human nature, much reflection on the workings of the mind, much aptitude in laying hold on the peculiarities of character, are necessary to enable a man so to discourse as that each of those who listen, shall hear his conscience pronounce---"thou art the man." In all these respects Mr. Mant has much to learn. He draws nothing from the heart, nothing from existing nature. While addressing a crowd, he cannot analyse it: he never seems to consider an audience as composed of individuals: and discourses so generally on the most important subjects, that what he says comes home to no man's "business or bosom."

Art. VII. *The Beauties of Christianity*; by F. A. De Chateaubriand, Author of *Travels in Greece and Palestine*, *Atala*, &c. Translated from the French by Frederic Shoberl. With a Preface and Notes, by the Rev. Henry Kett, B. D. &c. 8vo. 3 vols. pp. 970. Price 1l. 11s. 6d. Colburn. 1813.

WHATEVER may be the number of evils in the mundane system, we suppose no man will account it one of them, that in each class of beings that have many general principles of constitution in common, there should be found individuals strikingly contrasted with one another; that there should be labourers and woodbines as well as oaks---peacocks as well as eagles---antelopes as well as camels and elephants---and Chateaubriand as well as Paley. There is yet room in the system for them all; and there are offices and occupations for them all to fill, and which can be filled by each respectively in a far better manner than by the opposite entities. Let them only

avoid mixing and exchanging their vocations, and the economy will go on commodiously.

We think M. Chateaubriand has fully made good his claims to a place in this our fine portion of the creation; that he has fallen into the right district of it; that his activity in it has been most laudably, indeed almost heroically, zealous; and that he has transgressed his proper limits only about as much as is commonly incident to the self-deception and ambition of mortals, even when their intentions are the best.

He is a singular and interesting man; so sincere, so tender, so impassioned, so enthusiastic, so imaginative, that we admit him among our friends, with less of the cold inquiry and calculation what good he is likely to do us, and among men of genius, with less disposition to put his judgement to any severe proof, than we should entertain in almost any other instance. It is gratifying, too, and excites a strong partiality, that a French infidel of genius should become a Christian almost of any kind, and on any terms. And, provided the simplicity and sincerity of his principles be not injuriously affected by his success, we are pleased that one reward of his honesty and courage has been such a popularity, in France, of his services to a good cause, as to outlive and mortify the base fraternity that he has deserted. His own account, however, of this happy separation, will serve to apprise his pupils that they are not to attend him for the acquisition of logic, and his admirers that they must beware of proclaiming him for a philosopher.

‘ My religious opinions have not always been the same they are at present. Offended by the abuses of some institutions, and the vices of some men, I was formerly betrayed into declamation and sophistical arguments against Christianity. I might throw the blame upon my youth, upon the madness of the revolutionary times, and upon the company I kept: but I wish rather to condemn myself, for I do not know how to defend what is indefensible. I will only relate simply the manner in which Divine Providence was pleased to call me back to my duty.

‘ My mother, after having been thrown at seventy-two years of age into a dungeon, where she was an eye witness of the destruction of some of her children, expired at last upon a pallet, to which her misfortunes had reduced her. The remembrance of my errors diffused great bitterness over her last days. In her dying moments, she charged one of my sisters to call me back to that religion in which I had been brought up. My sister, faithful to her solemn trust, communicated to me the last request of my mother. When her letter reached me beyond the seas, far distant from my native country, my sister was no more; she had died in consequence of the rigours of her imprisonment. These two voices issuing from the tomb, this death which served as the interpreter of death, struck me with irresistible force. I became a Christian. I did not yield, I allow, to

great supernatural illuminations, but my conviction of the truth of Christianity sprung from the heart. I wept, and I believed.' p. xv.

This work was an earlier performance than either his *Itinerary*, or *The Martyrs*, though it comes later (excepting a detached portion of it) into the English language. The author had contemplated with grief the great practical victory gained over Christianity, in his native country, by the philosophic, the lettered, and the unlettered wits, with Voltaire at their head. He had observed the inefficacy of the vindications of the Christian religion on the ground of historical evidence; vindications so numerous and so conclusive that the argument appeared to him incapable, on that side, of any material addition. But the infidels had rendered these defences in a great measure unavailing, by withdrawing their attacks from that impregnable side, and occupying and seducing the popular mind with a misrepresented, degraded character of the religion. They laboriously defamed it as something mean and barbarous, destructively opposed to all the graces, repressive of genius, estranged from magnificence and sublimity, and congenial with all the harsher principles of the human nature. Here then was the ground for its advocate. He considered all this as the direct reverse of truth, and planned a work to prove that Christianity must be of divine origin, because it is allied and auspicious to every thing that even the wits and geniuses themselves must acknowledge to be graceful, and liberal, and dignified, and grand.---But we shall do right to transcribe his own account.

'They (the disciples of the sophists) had been seduced by being told that Christianity was the offspring of barbarism, an enemy to the arts and sciences, to reason and elegance; a religion whose only tendency was to encourage bloodshed, to enslave mankind, to diminish their happiness, and to retard the progress of the human understanding. It was therefore necessary to prove that, on the contrary, the Christian religion is the most humane, the most favourable to liberty and the arts and sciences, of all the religions that ever existed; that the modern world is indebted to it for every improvement, from agriculture to the abstract sciences; from the hospitals for the reception of the unfortunate, to the temples reared by the Michael Angelos and embellished by the Raphaels. It was necessary to prove that nothing is more divine than its morality, that nothing is more lovely and more sublime than its tenets, its doctrines, and its worship; that it encourages genius, corrects the taste, develops the virtuous passions, imparts energy to the ideas, presents noble images to the writer, and perfect models to the artist; that there is no disgrace in being believers with Newton and Bossuet, with Pascal and Racine. In a word, it was necessary to summon all the charms of the imagination, and all the interests of the heart, to the assistance of that religion against which they had been set in array. The reader may now have a clear view of the object of our work. All other

kinds of apologies are exhausted, and perhaps even they would be of no use in the present times. Who would now sit down to read a work professedly theological? Possibly a few sincere Christians who are already convinced.

'It is high time that the public should know to what all those charges of absurdity and meanness, that are daily alledged against Christianity, may be reduced. It is high time to demonstrate, that instead of debasing the ideas, it encourages the soul to take the most daring flights, and is capable of enchanting the imagination as divinely as all the deities of Homer and Virgil. Our arguments will at least have this advantage, that they will be intelligible to the world at large, and that nothing but common sense is requisite to determine their weight and strength. In works of this kind, authors neglect, perhaps rather too much, to speak the language of their readers: it is right to be a scholar with a scholar, and a poet with a poet; the Almighty does not forbid us to tread the flowery path in order to lead the wanderer once more to him; and it is not always by the steep and rugged mountain that the lost sheep again finds its way to the fold.

'We have the vanity to think that this mode of considering Christianity, displays associations of ideas which are but imperfectly known. Sublime in the antiquity of its recollections, which go back to the creation of the world; ineffable in its mysteries; adorable in its sacraments; interesting in its history; celestial in its morality; attractive in its ceremonies, it is fraught with every species of beauty. Would you follow it in poetry? Tasso, Milton, Corneille, Racine, Voltaire (!) revive the images of its miracles. In the belles lettres, in eloquence, history, and philosophy, what have not Bossuet, Fénelon, Massillon, Bourdaloue, Bacon, Pascal, Euler, Newton, Leibnitz, produced by its divine inspiration? In the arts, what master-pieces! If you examine it in its worship, what ideas are suggested by its antique Gothic churches, its admirable prayers, and its impressive ceremonies! Among its clergy behold all those scholars who have handed down to you the languages and the works of Greece and Rome; all those anchorets of Thebais; all those asylums for the unfortunate; all those missionaries to China, to Canada, to Paraguay; not forgetting the military orders whence chivalry derived its origin. Every thing has been engaged in our cause—the manners of our ancestors, pictures of days of yore, even poetry, romances themselves. We have called smiles from the cradle, and tears from the tomb. Sometimes with the Maronite monk we have dwelt on the summits of Carmel and Lebanon; at others we have watched with the nun, the Sister of Charity, beside the bed of the sick. Here two American lovers have summoned us into the recesses of their deserts; there we have listened to the sighs of the virgin in the solitude of the cloister. Homer has taken his place by Milton, and Virgil beside Tasso; the ruins of Athens and of Memphis have formed contrasts with the ruins of Christian monuments, and the tombs of Ossian with our rural church-yards.'—In short, we have endeavoured to strike the heart of the infidel in every possible way; but we dare not flatter ourselves that we possess the miraculous rod of religion which caused living streams to burst from the flinty rock.

Four parts, each divided into six books, compose the whole of our work. The *first* treats of the tenets and doctrine: the *second* and *third* comprehend the poetic of Christianity, or the connexion of Christianity with literature and the arts: the *fourth* contains the worship, that is to say, whatever relates to the ceremonies of the church, and to the clergy both secular and regular. p. 11, &c.

From a prospectus indicating such width in the compass of the subject, the reader must indeed begin to apprehend that the Christian religion has many associations not commonly taken into account by its disciples. If the work were coming among us with some authoritative prescription, appointing it (as might be done in the author's country, if the master so pleased) to be the text-book of divinity in the colleges and academies, enjoining it to be read in schools, and placed on the table of every vestry, and exacting some pledge of coinciding with it from the teachers of religion, there would be an inconceivable alarm throughout the religious portion of our community. That our sober theological course through catechisms, compendiums, a few standard volumes of sermons, with a few treatises on the church, on ordinances, and severally on the few leading topics of religion---crowned possibly with a quarto, or even a folio body of divinity,---that this plain quiet progress should be suddenly turned into a vast adventure of what may be denominated intellectual foreign travel, into a rhapsodical, poetical, romantic, excursion through all science, history, polite literature, and arts---and that among the temporary residences for study in so many regions, a rather protracted one should be in the schools of the distinguished painters and statuaries;---this would awaken us with a vengeance; this would be as capital a rousing almost as that given to the Christian world by Luther. The more aged, austere, and jealously orthodox of our instructed believers, who have long settled their system of opinions, would be moved with an indignation which we hope no sanction of civil or ecclesiastical power would be able to intimidate into silence. And we should suppose that the youngest, the most inquisitive, the most lax, or the most liberal among us, would feel no small degree of hesitation and apprehension at the view of such an innovation.

We cannot pretend to give any thing like a methodical account of a work so multifarious, and itself so destitute of any real method, though it is cast into books and sections. All we shall attempt will be some very slight notices with a considerable number of extracts.

The title of the first part, which fills the first volume, 'Tenets and Doctrine,' seems of very indistinct import. And if this part could really have been intended for any thing like a display, in

order, of the most essential doctrines of Christianity, no attempt in all literature was ever more incompetent to its purpose.

It begins with some observations on the subject of mysteries, strongly expressive of poetical, and in a certain degree of philosophical feelings; but not at all adapted to instruct us how much of our religion we ought to be reverently satisfied to leave under the shade of awful mystery.

‘No circumstance of life is pleasing, beautiful, or grand, except mysterious things. The most wonderful sentiments are those which produce impressions difficult to be explained.’—‘Is not innocence which is no other than holy ignorance, the most ineffable of mysteries? If infancy is so happy, it is because it knows nothing, and old age is so wretched, it is because it has nothing to learn; but fortunately for the latter, when the mysteries of life are at an end, those of death commence. If this be the case with sentiments, it is the same with regard to virtues: the most angelic are those which emanate immediately from God, such as charity, studiously conceal themselves, like their source, from mortal view. If we proceed to the qualities of the mind, we shall find that the pleasures of the understanding are in like manner secrets. Mystery is of a nature divine, that the early inhabitants of Asia conversed only by symbols. To what science do we continually recur, unless to that which always leaves something to be divined, and which sets before our eyes an unbounded prospect? If we wander in the desert, a kind of instinct impels us to avoid the plains, where we can embrace every object at a single glance; we repair to those forests, the cradles of religion; those forests whose shades, whose sounds, and whose silence, are full of wonders; those solitudes to which the first fathers of the church retired, and where those holy men tasted inexpressible delight. We do not pause at the foot of a modern monument; but if in a desert island, in the midst of the wide ocean, we come all at once to a statue of bronze, whose extended arm points to the region to where the sun retires, and whose base, covered with hieroglyphics, attests the united ravages of the billows and of time—what a fertile source of meditation is here opened to the traveller! There is nothing in the universe but what is hidden, but what is unknown. Is not man himself an inexplicable mystery? Whence proceeds that flash of lightning which we call existence, and in what night is it about to be extinguished? The Almighty has placed birth and death, under the form of veiled phantoms, at the two extremities of our career; the one produces the incomprehensible moment of life, which the other uses every exertion to destroy. Considering, then, the natural partiality of mankind to mysteries, it cannot appear surprising that the religions of all nations should have had their impenetrable secrets, &c.’

This is one of several hundreds of passages that prove our author has perceptions and reflections of a much deeper kind than ordinary men, and that shew with how little precision he

content, often, to make them bear illustratively on his subject. They are meant as introductory to two chapters on the Trinity and Redemption, which, we think, are singularly crude, fanciful, and ineffectual. It is wonderful that a man so learned, and so zealous to reclaim unbelievers, could persuade himself to demand the submission of their understandings to such reasonings.

'The Trinity,' he says, 'opens an immense field for philosophic studies, whether we consider it in the attributes of God, or collect the vestiges of this dogma diffused throughout the ancient East: for so far from being the invention of a modern age, it bears that antique stamp which imparts exquisite beauty to every thing upon which it is impressed.'

He follows the traces of the doctrine, or an analogous doctrine, among various ancient and modern heathens, and quotes from Bossuet and Tertullian some obscure and unavailing attempts at explaining the mystery; or at least to shew why it may rationally be believed *independently of evidence from divine revelation*. This, though most honestly intended on the part of our author, is an injudicious, and, in effect, treacherous way of defending the doctrine. When the appeal to the reason and to the taste of unbelievers, in favour of a Christian doctrine, is rested on dogmas and dreams of the Grecian, Persian, or Indian schools of philosophy, it will soon be seen how light they will make of the wisdom of those schools, though they might have been talking of it with affected reverence or rapture a moment before. He had better have entirely let the subject alone, if, while he was bringing so many unexceptionable corroboratives and illustrations of other Christian doctrines from the scenes of nature and the structure and sentiments of the human mind, he could not venture to demand for one doctrine a submissive unspeculating faith, on the pure exclusive authority of that revelation which he was doing so much to establish as a communication from the Deity. We repeat, however, that there is evidently nothing insidious in his vindication of the doctrine. He adverts to it in other parts of the work with the unquestionable signs of sincere belief. But his belief is accompanied by the fantastic adjunct which has injured its sobriety and simplicity in the writings of some of our own divines, the notion of a certain trinity to be descried also in the system of nature, and in the constitution of man.

The chapter on Redemption asserts, in plain language, the fall and depravity of man; but this is almost all that is plain in it, excepting a just and very pointed reproach of the unreasonable and disengenuous conduct of the infidels, who, if you offer them animated images and sentiments, hear them with scorn, and are all for arguments; and then, if you accordingly begin

to argue, are just as loud for something animated, interesting, eloquent. There is the strange assertion that 'redemption is the natural consequence of the state into which human nature has fallen;' there are the strange expressions, affirmatively used, 'God dying,' 'God expiring for sinners;' and there is such an unaccountably careless sentence as this, 'Without pretending to decide in this place *whether God is right or wrong* in making us sureties for each other, all that we know is, &c.' That in the language of Massillon is taken as a sufficient warrant for saying, that there were 'accumulated upon the head of Christ the *physical torments* that might be supposed to attend the punishment of all the sins committed since the beginning of time and all the moral anguish, all the *remorse*, which sinners must have experienced for crimes committed.' It is said that 'Christ was born of a virgin that he might not partake of original sin. In the most monstrous style of French rhetoric, man, as originally created, is actually called the 'sovereign of the universe.' Death is pronounced to have been a penal 'invention' of God after the fall of man. The gospel is asserted, in the most unqualified expression, to be the 'plainest book that exists;' and yet the following is a statement of some of its contents!

'For our parts, setting aside whatever is direct and sacred in the mysteries, we think we can discover under their veils the most exquisite truths in nature. We are persuaded that these three secrets of heaven,' (trinity, redemption, incarnation) 'exclusively of their explicable and mystic parts, contain all created things, and are the prototype of the moral and physical laws of the world: this is highly worthy of the glory of God, for hence we discern the reason why he has been pleased to manifest himself in these mysteries rather than in any other mode. Jesus Christ, who may be compared to the mother world, taking our nature upon him, teaches us the prodigy of the physical creation, and represents the universe framed in the bosom of celestial love. The parables and the figures of this mystery are then engraved upon every object around us. Strength universally proceeds from grace; the river issues from the spring: the lion first nourished by milk like that which is sucked by the lamb; and lastly, among mankind, the Almighty has promised ineffable glory to those who practise the humblest virtues.' Vol. I. p. 39.

The general title, 'Tenets and Doctrine,' is of such comprehensive import as to include the sacraments, baptism, the communion, and marriage; and, with some dexterous management to bring it in as a *circumstance*, merely, in a representation of a Christian dying, the other sacrament of extreme unction. Poetry had been waiting and accumulating for the introduction of the two former of these subjects:

'Behold the new convert standing amidst the waves of Jordan the hermit of the rock pours the consecrated water on his head

while the reeds of the river, the camels on its banks, the cedars of Lebanon, seem to pay attention. Or rather,* behold the babe before the sacred font! A joyous family surrounds him, in his behalf renounces sin, and gives him the name of his grandfather, thus renewed by love from generation to generation. Already the father, whose heart throbs with delight, eagerly receives back his child, to carry him home to an impatient wife. The relatives assemble; tears of tenderness and of religion bedew every eye; the new name of the pretty infant, the ancient appellation of his ancestor, passes from mouth to mouth, and every one, mingling the recollections of the past with present joys, discovers the fancied resemblance of the good old man in the child by which his memory is revived. But religion, ever moral, ever serious, even when the most chearful smile irradiates her countenance, also shews us the son of kings, in his purple mantle, renouncing the works of Satan, at the same font to which the infant of the cottage is equally brought to abjure the pomps and vanities of the world.'

He reverts with great delight to the primitive administration of baptism, as described by St. Ambrose, and to the sacred retirements of Anchorites in the wilderness of the Holy Land; and he exclaims,

'Days too soon passed away! No longer is there a St. John in the desert, and on the happy convert will not again be poured those waters of Jordan which removed all his stains, and conveyed the polluted stream to the bosom of the ocean.'

This appearing to be expressed with the gravity of a literal description of a physical fact, and there *having* been a vast number of converts baptized in the Jordan, though not in recent times, might we start the suggestion whether any aggravation of the known qualities of the Dead Sea may have accrued from this cause?

He becomes much more lavishly poetical in his celebration, popish, historical, philosophical, and mystical, of the Eucharist. In what we call the philosophical part there is the proposition that 'the Holy Communion constitutes a complete system of legislation.' And on such a subject he consents, and surely is the only pious man alive that would do so, to accept the polluted assistance of Voltaire, who condescends, in his sneering hypocrisy, to pervert to the subject a few French opera phrases.

"Here then are people," says he, "who partake of the communion, amid an august ceremony, by the light of a hundred tapers, after solemn music has enchanted their senses, at the foot of an altar resplendent with gold. The imagination is subdued and the soul powerfully affected. We scarce breathe; we forget all earthly considerations; we are united with God. Who durst, who could, after this, be guilty of a single crime, or only conceive the idea of one!

* Here is a trial for the poet and painter!

It would indeed be impossible to devise a mystery capable of keeping men more effectually within the bounds of virtue."

In the chapter on Faith, there is a good paragraph of practical illustrations :

' There is no power but in conviction.'—' What wonders a small band of troops, persuaded of the abilities of their leader, is capable of achieving! Thirty-five thousand Greeks follow Alexander to the conquest of the world; Lacedæmon commits her destiny to the hands of Lycurgus, and Lacedæmon becomes the wisest of cities; Babylon believes that she is formed for greatness, and greatness crowns her confidence; an oracle gives the empire of the *universe* to the Romans, and the Romans obtain the empire of the *universe*; Columbus alone, among all his contemporaries, persists in believing the existence of a new world, and a new world rises from the bosom of the deep. Friendship, patriotism, love, all the generous sentiments, are likewise a species of faith. It was because they had faith that a Codrus, a Pylades, a Regulus, an Arria, performed prodigies. For the same reason those who have faith in nothing, who treat all the attachments of the soul as illusions, who consider every noble action as insanity, and look with pity upon the warm imagination and tender sensibility of genius—for the same reason such hearts will never achieve any thing great or generous: their only belief is in matter and in death, and they are already insensible as the one, and cold and icy as the other.'

After some pleasing and animated sentiments, bordering however, on extravagance, on Hope and Charity, he proceeds to the 'moral laws' of Christianity, or rather of revealed religion.---He seems to make a merit of saying things, not exactly paradoxical, but rash, sweeping, exaggerating, and affectedly false. This chapter, for instance, begins thus: 'It is a reflection not a little mortifying to our pride, that all the maxims of human wisdom may be comprehended in a few pages: and even in these pages how numerous are the errors!' Now if this were not nonsense, how poor would be that triumph which he is designing to gain for the wisdom of the divinely inspired legislation, by proclaiming its superiority over the wisdom of the pagans. But when we go forward to see what can be meant by, or what is to follow, this strange assertion, we find that what he had the whim to denominate 'all the maxims of human wisdom,' are the few dozens of sentences which were put into the form of legislative appointments, by Zoroaster, Minos, Solon, Pythagoras, and a small selection of poor and pompous dictates from Indian, Egyptian, Roman, and Druidical law-making. The recital of them, however, really seems to improve his thinking or writing faculty, for nothing can be more just than the reflections with which he dismisses them:

'How many vague, incoherent, common-place expressions are there in most of these sentences! Such are, in general, the philo-

sophic works of antiquity. The sages of the portico and the academy alternately published maxims so contradictory, that you may prove from the same book that its author believed and did not believe in God; that he acknowledged and did not acknowledge a positive virtue; that liberty is the greatest of blessings, and despotism the best of governments.'

The third book begins with a slight review, or rather enumeration, of the dreams of the barbarous, and of the more civilized and philosophical heathens, concerning the origin of the world; which incur, by being brought into comparison with the Genesis of Moses, a similar fate to that of the Magicians' serpents, when they appeared in the presence of his.

The author reverts to the subject of the fall of man, but not so much in the manner of a simple and submissive believer in a matter of fact, as declared on divine authority, as in that of a philosophical poet and a Hierophant. It is not enough for him that the Sovereign Creator had a right to choose the test of obedience, and that the one which was selected by infinite wisdom was therefore necessarily the best; he must assume to understand the principle on which the selection was made, the principle on which it was necessary it should be made in order to be right. And his illuminations must be most original and extensive, (whatever may be thought of their clearness) if he is prepared to draw out into a full theory the import of the following ambitious and obscure proposition:

'The secret of the political and moral existence of nations, the profoundest mysteries of the human heart, are comprized in the tradition of this wonderful and pernicious tree.'

It is not a little mortifying that so much doubt and ignorance can remain in the world after so many of our fellow-mortals have set up for oracles among us, and boldly asserted whatever it was most impossible for them to know. A few sentences after this that we have quoted, Bossuet is introduced asserting, with the most unceremonious confidence, and with M. Chateaubriand's perfect faith in his knowledge of the fact, that before the fall 'angels conversed with man under the figure of animals: Eve therefore was not surprized to hear the serpent speak.' Between these two illuminati, had they been both alive, we should have been in a very hopeful way; for really, of men authorized to make assertions like these it could not but have been within the competence, and indeed could hardly have been less than the duty, to terminate our questions, whether of fact or doctrine, in theology.

Here, however, our author gets on ground where even the least confiding of his readers will acknowledge that he is quite at home. The reference to the first fatal temptation leads him into a description of the characteristics of the serpent tribe;

and his descriptions are always something greatly beyond those of a mere natural historian, though the materials are substantially the same. His graphical delineations are animated with a spirit of poetry. Perhaps indeed there is an excess of it in his celebration of this most odious of the earth's inhabitants.

‘ The serpent has frequently been the subject of our observations, and if we may venture to speak out, we have often imagined that we could discover in him that pernicious sagacity and that subtlety which are ascribed to him by scripture. Every thing is mysterious, secret, astonishing in this incomprehensible reptile. His movements differ from those of all other animals ; it is impossible to say where his locomotive principle lies, for he has neither fins, nor feet, nor wings ; and yet he flits like a shadow, he vanishes as by magic, he re-appears and is gone again, like a light azure vapour, or the gleams of a sabre in the dark. Now he curls himself into a circle, and projects a tongue of fire ; now standing erect on the extremity of his tail, he moves along in a perpendicular attitude as by enchantment. He rolls himself into a ball, rises and falls in a spiral line, gives to his rings the undulations of waves, twines round the branches of a tree, glides under the grass of the meadows, or skims along the surface of the water. His colours are not more determinate than his activity ; they change with each new point of view, and like his motions they possess false splendour and deceitful variety. Still more astonishing in the rest of his manners, he knows, like a man polluted with murder, how to throw aside his garment distained with blood, lest it should lead to his detection, &c.’

The description is still further amplified, with that combination of knowledge and fancy which the writer always displays when any striking object or fact in nature seduces him into rhetorical painting ; and it is followed by a much more curious specific description of the behaviour of a serpent, with which he and his companions, travelling in company with several families of savages, had an adventure in Upper Canada, in 1791.

‘ One day a rattle-snake entered our encampment. Among us was a Canadian who could play on the flute, and who, to divert us, advanced against the serpent with his new species of weapon. On the approach of his enemy, the haughty reptile curls himself into a spiral line, flattens his head, inflates his cheeks, contracts his lips, displays his envenomed fangs and his bloody throat ; his double tongue glows like two flames of fire ; his eyes are burning coals ; his body, swollen with rage, rises and falls like the bellows of a forge ; his dilated skin assumes a dull and scaly appearance ; and his tail, whence proceeds the death denouncing sound, vibrates with such rapidity as to resemble a light vapour. The Canadian now begins to play upon his flute ; the serpent starts with surprize and draws back his head. In proportion as he is struck with the magic effect, his eyes lose their fierceness, the oscillations of his tail become slower, and the sound which it emits becomes weaker and gradually dies away. Less perpendicular upon their spiral line, the rings of the

charmed serpent are by degrees expanded and sink one after another upon the ground in concentric circles. The shades of azure, green, white, and gold, recover their brilliancy on his quivering skin; and slightly turning his head he remains motionless in the attitude of attention and pleasure. At this moment the Canadian advanced a few steps, producing with his flute sweet and simple notes. The reptile inclining his variegated neck, opens a passage with his head through the high grass and begins to creep after the musician, stopping when he stops, and beginning to follow him again as soon as he moves forward. In this manner he was led out of our camp attended by a great number of spectators, both savages and Europeans, who could scarcely believe their eyes when they witnessed this wonderful effect of harmony. The assembly unanimously decreed that the serpent which had so highly entertained them should be permitted to escape.'
(*To be concluded in our next Number.*)

Art. VIII. *Evening Amusements*; or, the Beauty of the Heavens displayed. In which several striking Appearances, to be observed on various Evenings in the Heavens, during the Year 1813, are described. To be continued annually. By William Freud, Esq. M. A. &c. 12mo pp. 192. Price 3s. Mawman. 1813.

ALL who have read our observations upon Mr. Freud's "Amusements" for the years 1810 and 1811,* must be aware that we have peculiar pleasure in examining his productions, although, from some cause or other, his publication for the last year escaped our notice. His efforts would, we confess, give us no small concern, if the power which puts them forth were at all commensurate with the intention; but, exerted as they are, with great feebleness and greater want of judgement, we are as much "amused" by them as we should be to witness the awkward attempts of a dwarf to wield the weapons of a giant. The history of the various theological and scientific labours of this gentleman is calculated to furnish instruction to all thoughtless sciolists, who expect and promise to innovate much, with the power of effecting nothing. More than twenty years ago, he endeavoured to convert the idolators of Cambridge, by addressing to them some *threepenny* exhortations to turn "From the false worship of three Gods to the worship of the one true God." But alas! his advices were thrown away upon that stiff-necked people; and what with the success of Dr. Milner, Dr. Jowett, Professor Farish, Mr. Simeon, and a few other such "Pagan priests," this false and idolatrous worship is now more prevalent at Cambridge than ever. Much about the same time our author, in addition to his labours in improving the morals of the town, endeavoured to reform and purge the University. He therefore

* See Ecl. Rev. Vol. VI. p. 335. Vol. VII. p. 416.

published "A Plea for Peace and Union," and ridiculed many of the laws and practices of that learned body. But here again, instead of adopting the notions of this restless personage, and suffering him to innovate and renovate as he could wish, they expelled him from the University altogether, and obliged him to exert his skill at reformation in the metropolis. There he soon heard of an ingenious and good-natured old gentleman, who had for many years been riding a hobby which went backwards, as an emblem of a *negative sign*, and constantly invited men and boys of science to travel with him; but in vain, till Mr. Frend kindly leaped up behind. They have jogged on together ever since; but here also unfortunately they ride *alone*; and as we conjecture, converse but little on their journey: for 'whilst 'my ever-to-be-respected friend, Baron Maseres, and myself,' agree in their notions of the negative sign; on most other points their sentiments are understood to be diametrically opposite.

Failing in this second attempt, our never-to-be-nonplused reformer (we hope he will pardon us for taking the liberty to coin a word after his own fashion), next laboured earnestly, and most pathetically, to effect a reformation in the treatment of celestial and terrestrial globes. Who would believe, that, in a civilized country, and in an age when the slave trade has been abolished, and the struggle for "catholic emancipation" is manfully repeated about every three months, globes, aye of both kinds, without any distinction, should 'repose under a dirty coverlid,' while not "nine-tenths of the bystanders" probably know, whether they are 'representations of the earth and heavens, or globular stewpans?' Yet, Mr. Frend vouches for the truth of the melancholy and alarming fact. Nay, farther, though every one must perceive that the burning of widows in Hindustan is mere child's play to this; and though our learned author has laboured incessantly, day and night, for two years, to abolish the inhuman practice; still it prevails. So that here again he is thwarted by his malignant stars.

His next attempt, if we are rightly informed, has been to check the "false worship of three Gods" in Sunday schools, by endeavouring to get Socinian watch-papers, of a very curious construction, circulated among the scholars. How far he has been successful in this way, we have not yet heard: but, such is the blindness of most Sunday school children, and such the proneness of the majority of their teachers to the "false worship" Mr. Frend is so anxious to explode, that we do not augur that much would be effected, even if the *guineas* promised in these watch-papers were circulated with them.

Lastly, our learned author labours hard in the volume before us, to correct the erroneous notions which prevail respecting the

Newtonian doctrine of the universal attraction of matter to matter. At the beginning of the present century it was thought impossible, by the disciples of the British philosopher, that any man, capable of either writing or reading his own name, would oppose any of the grand principles of their master's system. But this was a vain fancy: for, very shortly after, a lively Frenchman, M. Mercier, stepped forward as an active reformer of that celebrated school, and in a treatise of 318 pages, *De l'Impossibilité du Système Astronomique de Copernic et de Newton*, endeavoured to demonstrate irrefragably that this system is utterly impossible. His logic was worthy of an opposer of Newton, and ran thus: "We know nothing of matter; but the universe is constituted of matter; therefore the Copernican and Newtonian system is impossible." "A point is that which has neither parts nor dimensions; but geometrical figures are made up of points; and mathematicians, one of whom was *le grand mistificateur Newton*, deduce their conclusions from reasonings upon geometrical figures; therefore the astronomical system of Copernicus and Newton is impossible." "Locke was the worst of metaphysicians, and corrupted the source of morals; therefore, &c." "A French astrologer endeavoured to illustrate the nature of parallax by pointing to a lady's bonnet; therefore, &c." "Voltaire sometimes ridiculed Descartes, sometimes Maupertuis, and sometimes Newton; therefore, &c." And after syllogizing in this way through 37 chapters, he settles the point beyond all controversy, thus---"Mathematical demonstration is not applicable to moral subjects, whence it follows indubitably that the astronomical system of Copernicus and Newton is impossible." Such forcible reasoning as this, must, of necessity, carry all the world before it; and probably M. Mercier would have been deputed to frame a new system for astronomers, had not some prying wight discovered that he had long been under the influence of

- ' The queen of night, whose vast command
- ' Rules o'er the sea, and half the land,
- ' And over moist and crazy brains,
- ' In high spring-tides at midnight reigns.'

Whether it be that our present author, in imitation of so splendid an example, prepare his monthly lucubrations as M. Mercier is said to have done, always within a day or two of the full-moon; or whether his reasoning be the genuine result of his own powers, independently of all influence *ab extra*; certain it is, that there is a great similarity in the mode of argumentation adopted by the French and the English reformer.

Mr. Freud ventures to call in question the existence of attraction, the great cause, as it has been supposed, of the hea-

venly bodies being retained in their orbits;' and, that our readers may know with what skill and force he opposes this prevailing notion, we shall select a few specimens of his reasons.

1. 'How far the system of attraction has a claim to our belief, either from the authority of a name, or from the thing itself, it may not be useless to inquire; but *it is certain that if we cannot conceive it to exist* [just as the Siamese could not conceive *ice* to exist,---since existences, notoriously depend altogether upon our ignorance], *however plausible* the theory may be which is formed upon it, the doctrine itself *must* share the fate of the crystalline orbs, and serve to warn us against too rash a decision on subjects beyond the reach of our ken [query, *ken* of our *reach*?] 'Though we should banish attraction from the regions of astronomy, the science will not suffer.' (p. 25.) Therefore, 'the motions of the planets are produced by a cause of an opposite nature.' p. iv.

2. Newton 'lays down, from demonstration, the laws to which horses, or any other bodies, would be subject in revolving round a centre. These bodies, in their motions, he conceives to be acted upon by a force, which he calls the centre-seeking force; and it is in this term that many mistakes originate.' (p. 39.) Therefore the astronomical doctrine of attraction ought to be exploded.

3. When 'regimental horses, with their riders, go round and round in the same ring, for a great length of time, the space within the ring is void; and though the horses may be said to be acted upon by a centre-seeking force, the men who direct their motions would be very much puzzled to understand the nature of its operation.' (p. 41.) Therefore, the astronomical doctrine of attraction ought to be exploded.

4. 'When we see a cork in a mill-pond moved round and round by the force of the water, we have an instance of a curvilinear motion, in which the body moved is perfectly passive.' (p. 41.) Therefore, the astronomical doctrine of attraction, &c.

5. 'We must attribute the motion of a body in a curve to some cause, which it will be our business to discover; it may be with ease, or with difficulty, or, perhaps, it may be beyond the reach of our powers [that is, as before remarked, 'the reach of our *ken*,' or the *ken* of our reach.] In all cases, we should be careful of affirming positively without due investigation. But the business of the month now calls us to another employment.' (p. 42.) Therefore the astronomical doctrine, &c. as before.

6. 'When a body revolves in a curve, it is said to be acted upon by a force, which is called centripetal, or centre-seeking but we are not at a loss for instances in which bodies do revolve in a curve, and yet there is nothing within the curve to act upon those bodies.' (p. 55.) Therefore, &c.

7. 'A newspaper brought in wet from the press, is held to the fire to dry, and not unfrequently it is soiled by the bars, and sometimes burnt. The person who holds it hears this language: "Take care, the fire is drawing the paper; if you don't mind it will be burnt." Now here is apparently an attraction' (p. 56); but there is none in reality. Therefore, &c. as before.

8. 'A boy amuses himself by taking a piece of round leather, through which he passes a string, and having soaked it for some time in water, he places it on a stone, treading it firmly on; and from this time the stone and leather adhere together; and he carries it [query, which?] about, hanging at the bottom of his string. Whilst the leather is dry, he may tread it down as long as he pleases on the stone, but no such effect will be produced, no adhesion will take place. On pulling the string the leather *feels* the impulse [Indeed?] but the stone is left behind.' (p. 59.) This cannot be accounted for by attraction alone, though the vulgar perhaps, as in the former example, think it may: therefore, &c. as before.

9. 'A very *able* writer (Boscovich) not being *able* to get over a certain objection, has formed his system by allowing to matter both attractive and repulsive powers.' 'He carried the system of Newton to its farthest extent.' (p. 75.) Therefore the notion of universal attraction must be exploded.

10. 'A living writer (Bonnycastle) talks of heresy, and worst of heretics, in a question of philosophy:' (pp. 98, 99) ---which, to be sure, is somewhat ridiculous: therefore, &c.

11. Mr. Bridge, in his *Elements of Algebra*, says that 'the traveller arrives at his journey's end at the conclusion of the ninth day; but by going on for six days longer, resting on the sixteenth day, and travelling back again for the last six days, he will, algebraically speaking, arrive at his journey's end again at the conclusion of the twenty-second day.' (p. 102.) Therefore the Newtonian doctrine of attraction is utterly untenable.

12. The doctrine of ultimate ratios is so abstruse, that Mr. Frend cannot comprehend it. (p. 118:) therefore, &c. as before.

13. Mr. Frend explains the phenomenon of 'the melting of a piece of sugar in water,' by inventing a new word, '*hydatic*,' and by employing very ambiguously two common words, *connection* and *combination* (p. 149.): therefore, &c.

14. 'I do not *allow* the approach of the moon to the earth to be owing to any attractive force existing in either *orb* [how poetical, as well as philosophical!]; but *I* may be as wrong as those who have gone before me in assigning the cause.' (p. 165.) Therefore, &c.

15. 'No one admires the genius of Newton more than myself; yet I cannot be blind to his *faults*, nor will the superiority of his talents compel me to assent to a doctrine, which so far from being founded on demonstration, is mere conjecture and hypothesis.' (p. 99.) Therefore the Newtonian doctrine of attraction 'is mere conjecture and hypothesis.'

Such of our readers as are prone, to use Dean Milner's expression, to look "for the *nucleus* of an argument, which they would gladly separate from all the extraneous materials with which it is involved," will be delighted to see with what logical dexterity Mr. Freud contrives to make *his* reasonings strike home to every understanding. Such simplicity, such cogency, such elegance of illustration! Had Newton met with such an opponent in his days, he would surely have died, broken-hearted, long before he attained the age of 85. But the most notable specimen of our author's skill as a reasoner (or we might say, as "a wrangler," for Mr. Freud was "second wrangler" in his year) is yet to be produced. As he seems to think it very decisive, we shall present it entire, notwithstanding its length.

'Newton took up the question that Kepler had left unsolved. and he laid down a law, by which every thing, at first sight, seems easy of explanation. But, on examining it more closely, we are brought into a dilemma, from which it will not be easy to extricate ourselves. The law of Newton is certain, provided bodies revolve in orbits of the form he lays down; but if they do not revolve in orbits of such a form, then the law is different, and the conclusions, of course, will vary.

'For example, if the planetary bodies are *actuated upon* [such is the technology of the Freudian philosophy] by one law of force, then their periodical times and distances will bear a certain proportion to each other, and the curves they describe will be ascertained; in short they will be what Kepler has asserted them to be; and if the curves are supposed to be what Kepler has described, then the law of the force will be that which Newton has laid down. We come, then, to the enquiry, whether the assertions of the two great philosophers are compatible with each other. Kepler asserts, that the planets move in orbits, which are elliptical, with a certain proportion between their periodical times and mean distances: and Newton asserts, that they are actuated by a force, varying inversely as the square of the distance; as no other force could produce such motions.

'Now let us take Newton's opinion first, and suppose, that his force exists in nature; then, how can the planets move in elliptical orbits? For let the Sun, Earth, and Moon, be in any position you please, when the Earth is one point of its orbit, then they will not be in the same position, when the Earth returns to that point. Consequently, they will be acted upon in a different manner from what they were, when the Earth was first in this point; and the curve described by the Earth in the second case, must, therefore, vary from what it

was in the first case. This will be true of every point in the Earth's orbit, which, therefore, cannot be elliptical; and no two orbits of the Earth will be for many hundred years, if they ever are, the same. Hence, if Newton's law is true, that of Kepler is false.

'Now, let us suppose, with Kepler, who knew nothing of the forces of which we are talking, that the planets move in elliptical orbits, then each of them would be acted upon necessarily by the force laid down by Newton, provided there was no action of the one upon the other. If they do act each upon the other, then there will be a force at one time added to, and at another subtracted from that of the Sun; and, consequently, since the whole force must follow one law, that of the Sun and the planet cannot follow this law, but their forces must be such as, by combination, to form this law. Hence, if Kepler's law is true, that of Newton is false.

'We are brought, then, to this conclusion, that the laws laid down by these great men, are neither of them true. The attempt to describe the path of the heavenly bodies is one of noble daring; nor was it less to assign the cause of their motions; but can we imagine, that the unerring hand of Omnipotence is to be thus guided by our arithmetic, by laws of human calculation!

'The moon is on the meridian on the 1st, at 48 minutes past six in the evening, being under the four stars in square, the two western being to the west, and the two eastern to the east of the meridian; the former being nearest to it.' p. 180.

That the preceding argument may lose nothing of its force by being terminated abruptly, we have introduced the passage relative to the moon's southing, to which we apprehend our author attaches great importance; as we observe that he always seems eager to slip from the dryer parts of his discussions, and introduce a word or two respecting his favourite luminary.

'On the 2d of this month the moon's crescent is seen, for a short time, above Aldebaran.' 'At night, on the 12th, the moon rises to the east of the small stars in the tail of the Goat.' 'Am I endeavouring to overthrow the mathematics and the philosophy of Newton? By no means.' 'On the 26th, the crescent of the moon will be seen, soon after sunset, near the horizon, in the west-south-west:' and so on.

But we must if possible, become serious before we close the present article, and approach this formidable 'dilemma' upon which our acute author has thrown the poor Newtonians. The truth is (and so Mr. Freud must know, unless he have forgotten all he learnt at Cambridge), that Kepler found, from observation, that the planets in their revolutions about the sun moved *nearly* in ellipses: the truth is also, that Newton demonstrated that, if a central body be in the focus of a conic section, and another body move in the curve of that section, the centripetal force will be inversely as the square of the distance from the focal or central body: the truth is, farther, that when the Newtonian law

of *universal* attraction is applied to the actually existing case of the sun and planets in our system, the perturbations occasioned by the action of all upon each, cause the planets to move in trajectories that are not exactly ellipses, but coincide more nearly with them than with any other known curve. Where, then, is the contradiction between Newton and Kepler? And how can even Mr. Friend jump to the conclusion, that the laws laid down by these great men are neither of them true?

So much for our author's attack upon the doctrine of attraction. As for the rest of these "Evening Amusements," they are, we believe, much of the same kind as they have always been; and they are manufactured most, probably, after the method described at p. 417 of our seventh volume.

Art. IX. *Poems on several Occasions*. By Edward, Lord Thurlow. cr. 8vo. pp. 128. Price 8s. White and Cochrane. 1813.

WE believe that, both among critics and general readers, the presumption is almost always in favour of an author of high rank. At least it is so with us; not from any remains of the notion of a certain innate inexplicable superiority transmitted in aristocratic descent, (a notion for the practical refutation of which, laudable pains have been taken by the class in whose favour it existed,) but from the rational and obvious considerations, that a man of noble birth may be confidently assumed to have had a liberal education, in an extensive sense of the phrase; that it is probable---especially when we see that he is a man of literary taste---he has associated a good deal with some men of distinguished abilities and accomplishments; that he has had opportunities of surveying nature and art on a wider scale than men of humbler fortune; that he must be sensible he has more to hazard, in the way of reputation, than obscurer men, in challenging the public criticism; and that it is certain his writing is not task-work to which he is driven by necessity.

If all these considerations may not be enough to warrant a highly sanguine anticipation of the quality of a peer's performance, they were at least sufficient to make us confident of something very superior to the quite ordinary results of the prevailing juvenile ambition to appear in elegant little volumes of poetry.

At the first opening of the book, the reader perceives one conspicuous indication of such an extension of studies as implies a decidedly literary taste and habit, in the imitation of the diction and the rhythm of Spenser, to which the author has trained his verses with a degree of success. But almost at the same moment there will be a perception of certain affectations and extravagancies, of extremely unfavourable omen. Indeed, we think the few short

pieces at the beginning of the volume will force on the cultivated reader an opinion, which he will in vain make his utmost efforts to dismiss and leave behind him, in order to proceed through the book with unallayed pleasure. They are copies of verses addressed to contemporary individuals, with a song to Sir Philip Sidney, and lines on beholding his 'portraiture.' All these verses having been written in order to be prefixed to a late edition of the '*Defence of Poesy*,' an allusion to Sir Philip naturally occurs in several of the addresses; and some of these allusions are in a strain of enthusiasm so impetuously dashing through the clouds and meteors and at the stars, that not even *his* character, with all the splendour and the sort of poetic sanctity fixed and beaming around it, can preserve the reader's complacency, or even gravity.

' The man that looks, sweet Sidney, in thy face, (the picture)
Beholding there love's truest majesty,
And the soft image of departed grace,
Shall fill his mind with magnanimity '

' — the pale moon, and the pure stars above
Shall stay their spheres with music of thy praise.'

' Then I believe, that at thy birth was set
Some purer planet in the lofty sky,
Which a sweet influence did on earth beget;
That all the shepherds that on ground did lie
Beholding there that unexampled light,
That made like day the night,
Were fill'd with hope, and great expectancy,
That Pan himself would on the earth appear,
To bless th' unbounded year.'

' O, with what pure and never-ending song,
Song, that uplift upon the wings of love,
May gain access to that celestial throng,
Shall I now soar above,
And in the silver flood of morning play,
And view thy face, and brighten into day?'

' Let thy sweet deeds become my argument;
That all the wide hereafter may behold
Thy mind, *more perfect than refined gold*.'

' So shall my thoughts aspire
To that eternal seat, where thou art laid
In brightness without shade;
Thy golden locks that in wide splendour flow,
Crowned with lilies and with violets,
And amaranth which that good angel sets
With joy upon thy radiant head to blow,
The whilst full quires around
With *silver* hymns and dulcet harmony,
Make laud unto the glorious throne of grace, &c

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'On the divine and never-ending memory of Sir Philip Sidney,' is the inscription of one of the copies of verses.---To say nothing of an approach toward profaneness in some of the lines we have transcribed, how is it possible, we would ask, that any man can feel pleasure in thus laboriously throwing his mind out of all correct order in its estimates of things ; in thus putting himself in an artificial delirium, that he may not be sensible of the folly of attempting to inflate a particular name, however distinguished, into co-extension with the universe and eternity ?

But if there be no tolerating the excesses of high flown enthusiasm when Sir P. Sidney is the subject, a man who has been removed from this part of the creation for ages, whose name has acquired the venerable and pensive associations of the remote past, and has long been contemplated as presented through the medium of romance and poetry ; what can be said of an extravagance that bears, directly and personally, towards contemporary individuals, and rains an overwhelming shower of hyperboles on the heads of Earl Moira, Earl Spencer, Lord Holland, or the Prince Regent ?---Lord Spencer escapes before the very thickest of the storm ; the address ends thus :

'But thou, that like the sun, with heavenly beams
Shining on all, dost cheer abundantly
The learned heads, that drink Castalian streams ;
Transcendant Lord, accept this verse from me,
Made for all time, but yet unfit for thee.'

'By this last line it will be perceived that there is *one* object which all the noble writer's enthusiasm for other objects cannot make him forget. Now for Lord Holland :

'Most favoured Lord, in whose pure intellect,
The temple of divine humanity,
Th' eternal muses triumph, with affect
Of all that lives above the laming sky ;
With what enlarged pinion shall I fly
T' attain the glory of this argument,
That in thy rising wisdom can descry
The star, that shall enlight our firmament ?
And there shall reign, amidst the sweet consent
Of all, that honour magnanimity
And in the rule of virtue find content, &c.'

Lord Moira has it thus :

'To thee, that art the glory of our days,' &c.
'The virtues that exempt thee from the throng
And make thy life divinest poësy !'

And in addressing India, on the subject of his Lordship's appointment there, she is told that,

'———— now the world's fair light is gone,
To rule thee and to make thy bliss his own.'

But, the brightest stars are robbed of their beams, the sweetest flowers of their odours, the most melodious birds of their tones, for an offering to one still greater, worthier, sublimer object, than whom no other could be so justly figured out in the following lines :

‘ As when the burning majesty of day
The golden-hoofed steeds doth speed away
To reach the summit of the eastern hill ;
(And sweet expectance all the world doth fill ;)
With all his gorgeous canopy of clouds
(Wherein sometimes his awful face he shrouds,)
‘ Of amber, and of gold he marcheth on,
And the pure angels sing before his throne ;
Beneath his feet the beams of morning play ;
Before him the immortal seasons stray ;
And, looking down from that thrice-sacred height,
He fills the boundless kingdoms with his light :
So you, great Sir, if fitly we design
The kingly glory by a type divine,
Like that exalted shepherd, on his way,
Disperse our darkness, and restore our day :
The tears which we have shed, no more shall flow,
Your beauteous rising in our hearts shall glow ;
And *hymns of praise*, as we behold your light,
Shall warble from the bosom of the night !’ p. 112.

We think we have produced quite enough to excuse us from saying any thing of ‘ *Hermilda*,’ a tale of ‘ *Ladies, and knights, and arms, and glorious love, and courtesy, and brave exploit,*’ in the Holy Land, though it is the principal poem in the volume, and abounds with things demanding the epithets ‘ *sweet,*’ ‘ *golden,*’ and especially ‘ *divine.*’ --- Unless poetry has recently obtained a legal divorce from sound correct sense, (of which we have seen no record in the proceedings of any authorized court of criticism,) we think the noble writer should be dissuaded from too much freedom in courting her acquaintance.

Art. X. *Sketch of the Sikhs* ; a singular Nation, who inhabit the Provinces of Penjab, situated between the Rivers Jumna and Indus. By Lieutenant Colonel Malcolm : Author of the *Political Sketch of India*. 8vo. pp. 199. Price 9s. Murray. 1812.

THE origin, character, and religious institutions of the *Sikhs*, as Colonel Malcolm spells their name, or *Sic's, Seecks, Seecs*, &c. as it is spelt by others, form a curious, and not un-instructive chapter in the history and statistics of India. It is pretty generally known, that the Hindu race not only originally occupied the whole extent of territory, as far as the range

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of lofty mountains which border upon Persia and Tartary, but that in the provinces which most nearly approach to these mountains they are supposed to have principally flourished, and to have most highly cultivated the peculiarities which distinguish them so strongly from all other nations. In these provinces it was that they are reported to have received their origin, or rather in Cashmere, the most northern province of all; and here too they are said to have accumulated the greatest wealth, and to have left the most numerous monuments of their religion. It is true, indeed, that the Hindus in these provinces had been subject to Mahomedan conquerors since the year 1000 of the Christian era, and a considerable mixture of Mahomedans was diffused through the country. But the texture of Hindu society and manners could not, on this account, be regarded as broken, or even impaired. The Mahomedans introduced themselves only as warriors; and if they supplanted the military caste, they left all the others in their ancient situation. The same hands cultivated the ground, the same exercised the labours of the loom; and the arts and commerce of the country continued to flow, without interruption, in their accustomed channel.

About five hundred years after the establishment of the empire of the Ghaynivides over the northern provinces of India, Nanac Shah was born in the province of Lahore. He appears to have been of the Cshabriya, or military caste; although his family were engaged in the business of grain factors, to which he himself was destined. It is of little use here to trace the history or character of this man. It is sufficient to say, that he conceived the design of promulgating a new religion, alike subversive of the superstitions of the Mahomedans, and, what might appear a more difficult task, of the Hindus;---and that in this design he succeeded.

Of all the attempts which have been made to give currency to prejudice, we recollect none in which the faculty of withdrawing the attention from facts, has been exercised in greater perfection than on the subject of the Hindus. In the zealous and bigotted opposition which has been made to the propagation of Christianity in India, (which, regarding it only in a temporary point of view, would clear Hindu society of so many cruel obstructions to civilization and happiness, and be itself so unspeakable an improvement,) it has been customary to accumulate reproaches of ignorance, and folly, and enthusiasm, and we know not how many hard imputations, on every one who should venture even to hint that the change of Hindu belief was not altogether impossible. Did you feel disposed, by way of answer, to pronounce together the two terms *human* and *unchangeable*?---and to ask where the experience of human nature taught us to look upon them as necessarily or possibly conjoined?---Oh; this

was mere theory, the idle speculation of the closet-philosopher. It was to the last degree ridiculous to talk of experience of human nature, when it was so notorious that the Hindus were perfectly unlike the rest of mankind. Yet these acute reasoners *might* have known, as well as their opponents, the history of the Sikhs. Whether or not Colonel Malcolm has published the volume before us with a view to the termination of this important controversy, we will not pretend to determine: but it certainly comes at a very seasonable moment; and we shall avail ourselves of the opportunity of reviewing it, to bring forward, in as strong a light as we can, those portions of the history in question which most bear upon the inquiry.

The following is the Colonel's description of the character and mode of Nanac's instruction:

'Born in a province on the extreme verge of India, at the very point where the religion of Muhammed and the idolatrous worship of the Hindus appeared to touch, and at a moment when both these tribes cherished the most violent rancour and animosity towards each other, his great aim was to blend those jarring elements in peaceful union, and he only endeavoured to effect this purpose through the means of mild persuasion. His wish was to recal both Muhammedans and Hindus to an exclusive attention to *that* sublimest of all principles, [*quere what?*] which inculcates devotion to God, and peace towards man. He had to combat the furious bigotry of the one, and the deep-rooted superstition of the other; but he attempted to overcome all obstacles by the force of reason and humanity. And we cannot have a more convincing proof of the general character of that doctrine which he taught, and the inoffensive light in which it was viewed, than the knowledge that its success did not rouse the bigotry of the intolerant and tyrannical Muhammedan government under which he lived.'

Of the progress of proselytism to this sect we have no satisfactory memorials. It is evident that in a short time it became so numerous, that the armies of the great Aurengzebe himself were required to give efficiency to that war of persecution which the zeal of that bigoted Mussulman prompted him to undertake against it. In the course of this persecution, the religion itself assumed new features.

'Though the Sikhs had already, under Har Govind, been initiated in arms, yet they appear to have used these only in self defence: and as every tribe of Hindus, from the Brahmen to the lowest of the Sudra, may, in cases of necessity, use them without any infringement of the original institutions of their tribe, no violation of these institutions were caused by the rules of Nanac; which, framed with a view to conciliation, carefully abstained from all interference with the civil institutes of the Hindus. But his more daring successor, Guru Govind, saw that such observances were at variance with the plans of his lofty ambition; and he wisely judged, that the only means by which he could hope to oppose the Muhammedan

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'Though the Sikhs had already, under Har Govind, been initiated in arms, yet they appear to have used these only in self defence: and as every tribe of Hindus, from the Brahmen to the lowest of the Sudra, may, in cases of necessity, use them without any infringement of the original institutions of their tribe, no violation of these institutions were caused by the rules of Nanac; which, framed with a view to conciliation, carefully abstained from all interference with the civil institutes of the Hindus. But his more daring successor, Guru Govind, saw that such observances were at variance with the plans of his lofty ambition; and he wisely judged, that the only means by which he could hope to oppose the Muhammedan

government with success, were not only to admit converts from all tribes, but to break, at once, those rules by which the Hindus had been so long chained.—The extent to which Govind succeeded in this design, will be more fully noticed in another place. It is here only necessary to state the leading features of those changes by which he subverted, in so short a time, the hoary institutions of Brahma, and excited terror and astonishment in the minds of the Muhammedan conquerors of India, who saw the religious prejudices of the Hindus, which they had calculated upon as one of the pillars of their safety, because they limited the great majority of the population to peaceable occupations, fall before the touch of a bold and enthusiastic innovator.'

Is it not marvellous, with these facts before their eyes, to find men who boast of their "knowledge of India," loading us with contumely, because we say that the Hindus may change their religion? Why every thing is unchangeable so long as nothing occurs which is calculated to produce a change. The Hindu religion, in the higher provinces, had, during a few centuries, been a little shaken by the intercourse with Mahomedans; and in that situation 'a bold and enthusiastic innovator' had only to appear, when lo! 'the hoary institutions of Brahma fell before his touch!' What has happened once may happen again. We may rest assured that an intercourse with Europeans is not likely to produce effects less considerable, than intercourse with a people so nearly on the same level of civilization with themselves, as the Mahomedans. Whenever changes, to the proper extent, are again matured, another 'bold innovator,' notwithstanding all that can be said by these deep-read persons, who assure us of the contrary, has only to appear, and a new sect of warlike Hindus will most unquestionably spring forth. Now, are we very unreasonable in concluding from the circumstances of the case, illustrated by its striking results, that one of the greatest securities against future evil which we can devise, is to teach the people of India our own religion, to diffuse among them the inestimable blessings of Christianity. We are now speaking merely to the political expediency of the thing: for to argue with the persons we are alluding to, on the infinite importance of a cordial reception of the sublime truths of revelation, as affecting the eternal interests of men, or to insist on the sacred duty of conveying them to every nation, would be as hopeless a task as to talk with the blind of colours. What we mean to urge at present is simply this---that if we do not watch the moment, and take the change of religion, by anticipation, into our own hands, it will (humanly speaking) to our sorrow and everlasting infamy be seized by others.

It is observable that the allurements of military enterprize and military glory constituted the grand instrument by which the

founders of the Sikh religion so easily subverted the old habits and prejudices of the Hindus.

'They armed, in short,' says Colonel Malcolm, 'the whole population of the country; making worldly wealth and rank an object to which Hindus, of every class, might aspire;—opening at once, to men of the lowest tribe, the dazzling prospect of earthly glory. All who subscribed to the tenets of Govind were upon a level, and the Brahmen who entered his sect had no higher claims to eminence than the lowest Sadra who swept his house. It was the object of Govind to make all Sikhs equal, and that their advancement should solely depend upon their exertions: and well aware how necessary it was to inspire men of a low race, and of grovelling minds, with pride in themselves, he changed the name of his followers from Sikh to Singh, or Lion; thus giving to all his followers that honourable title which had been before exclusively assumed by the Rajaputs, the first military class of Hindus; and every Sikh felt himself at once elevated to rank with the highest by this proud appellation.—The disciples of Govind were required to devote themselves to arms, always to have steel about them in some shape or other.' &c.

The example of the Sikhs, the example indeed of Mahomed himself, are remarkable instances, to shew how naturally, in a stage of society like that of the Hindus, a change of religion assumes a military character; and when religious and military enthusiasm are combined together, the world is full of proofs how dangerous and irresistible an impulse is produced. We should be glad to know whether those who proclaim so loudly their excessive fears of Hindu resistance, from the preaching of Christianity, consider this a danger from which we are altogether exempt; and whether if such a danger exists, they know any better security against it, than, while the religious sentiments of the Hindus are just ready to quit their ancient channels, to do what in us lies, to transform idolatry into religion.

'In the character,' says our author, 'of this reformer of the Sikhs, it is impossible not to recognize many of those features which have distinguished the most celebrated founders of political communities. *The object which he attempted was great and laudable. It was the emancipation of his tribe from oppression and persecution; and the means which he adopted were such as a comprehensive mind could alone have suggested.* The Muhammedan conquerors of India, as they added to their territories, added to their strength, *by making proselytes*, through the double means of persuasion and force; and these, the moment they had adopted their faith, *became the supporters of their power*, against the efforts of the Hindus: who, bound in the chains of their civil and religious institutions, would neither add to their number by admitting converts, nor allow more than a small proportion of the population of the country to arm against the enemy. Govind saw, that he could only hope for success by a bold departure from usages which were calculated to keep those, by whom they were observed, in a degraded subjection to an insulting and

intolerant race. 'You make Hindus Muhammedans, and are justified by your laws,' he is said to have written to Aurengzebe: 'Now I, on a principle of self-preservation, which is superior to all laws, will make Muhammedans Hindus. You may rest,' he added, 'in fancied security: but beware! for I will teach the sparrow to strike the eagle to the ground.' A fine allusion to his design of inspiring the lowest races among the Hindus with that valour and ambition which would lead them to perform the greatest actions.'

In this passage there are some things worthy of particular attention. In the first place, Sir John Malcolm represents an attempt to rescue a man's tribe, or the community to which he belongs, from oppression under a bad government, as 'great and laudable.' This, from a person who has formed his opinions in the East Indies, and amidst the base and servile doctrines which are too frequently embraced, favoured, and protected by the rich and powerful in Great Britain itself, is a declaration of some importance. We hope it did not on this occasion slip from Sir John unawares. Yet, if we may trust to a passage in the minutes of the evidence which has been recently taken in the House of Commons, and in which he is made pretty plainly to declare that no increase of knowledge, even in the useful arts, should be tendered to the Hindus, we should greatly fear that universal benevolence is not a very strong ingredient in his composition. We shall transcribe the passage.

'Do not you think that it would be good policy in the British government to increase the means of information to the natives of India; information such as you have described, (viz. in the useful arts)?—I consider that in a state of so extraordinary a nature as British India, the first consideration of the government must always be its own safety; and that the political question of governing that country must always be paramount to all other considerations.—Might not an increase in the knowledge of useful arts in the natives, conveyed by British subjects resident in India, tend to strengthen the British government in India?—I conceive that such knowledge might tend in a considerable degree to increase their own comforts and their enjoyments of life; but I cannot see how it would tend in any shape to strengthen the political security of the English government, which appears to me to rest *peculiarly* upon their *present* condition.'

By resting *peculiarly* upon their present condition, that is, (as knowledge was the point in question) their *ignorance*, Sir John appears to say that this security would be endangered by knowledge; and by asserting that to this security every other consideration should be sacrificed, he seems to imply, that for this object, such as it is, we ought to do what we can to prevent the benefits of knowledge from penetrating among the Hindus. This doctrine is, unhappily, no singularity among us, who call ourselves *ἡμεῖς οἱ φιλόσοφοι* the enlightened and philanthropic nation; but

a doctrine more cruel and pernicious was never propagated by the worst foes of mankind. It is Machiavelism, in its most pestilential shape.*

• Since the above was written, a succeeding part of the evidence has been published, in which Sir John Malcolm has thought proper to explain and retract a part of the opinion which he seemed to have delivered as above. We are much gratified to find that he has done so: and has thus distinguished himself from too many, whom we are forced to call countrymen, and to whom such a sentiment would present nothing of a nature to shock them. After repeating his opinion that the communication of a knowledge, even of the useful arts, would have a tendency to weaken, rather than strengthen the security of our dominion in India, he adds, 'I am far, however, from stating an opinion, that the contemplation of its even lessening that strength, which is to be viewed as a distant, and many may conceive a speculative danger, should operate as a motive with the English government to check the progress of improvement in such useful arts among its native subjects; but it appears to me one among many other causes, that should keep the English government very awake to the growing difficulty of governing the Indian empire.' This passage seems to imply (and if it does not imply this it signifies nothing) that to favour the progress of improvement among its subjects is the moral duty and obligation of *every* government, whether that improvement be calculated to strengthen or weaken its own security;—in short that to favour the good (and that in all its shapes) of the *governed* is the duty of the *governors*. In the preceding part of his evidence Sir John declared, that the paramount concern of rulers was their own good, to which they ought to sacrifice every species of good, even the greatest, even the progress of knowledge itself, when it only regarded their subjects. Before Sir John Malcolm had retracted this doctrine, we hesitated to expose its whole atrocity, for fear of consequences. But now, that is distinctly disavowed we may, with safety, call upon our countrymen to observe, that there is not an enormity of the most wicked government upon earth, if it is only serves the purpose of that government, which is not completely justified by it. The bow-string, with all the massacres of the Turkish despotism, provided that despotism could not be so well supported without them, are perfectly laudable. The burnings in Smithfield by Mary, and the Inquisition in Spain and Portugal, if well calculated for upholding the religion which the rulers preferred, are not liable to condemnation. Even the butcheries of Robespierre himself must meet, in this school, with moral approbation, because they were calculated to deliver him from those enemies who had sworn his downfall. In all those cases, and in all possible cases, of the same description, all the error which can be committed by rulers is an error of judgement. They may mistake in judging which of the atrocious actions are for their advantage, which not: but that all are equally lawful, upon the doctrine apparently taught by Colonel Mal-

The other point in the preceding passage which we are anxious to point out as worthy of peculiar regard, is the avowal that the Mahomedan conquerors *did* make proselytes to their religion among the Hindus, and that by so doing they *strengthened* their power---contrary to the pertinacious assertions of those confident persons, who inform us that by attempting to gain proselytes, we should only get "kicked out" of the country. Yet the Mahomedans, we are told, made their proselytes by *force*, as well as persuasion; and those who recommend the propagation of Christianity, are so far from thinking of force, that they advise every possible means to be employed, for setting the minds of the people at rest, and convincing them that their religion shall be as effectually protected from force, as that of the persons who propose to them the adoption of another. Persuasion, we are told, will alarm them. What then might not be expected from persuasion and force together? Yet Sir John Malcolm expressly declares that 'the Mahomedan conquerors added to their strength by making proselytes through the double means of persuasion and force.' Those on whom reason and experience are calculated to have any effect, will not fail to give these proofs the attention they deserve.

The vast extent of territory and population over which the arms and tenets of the Sikhs have spread themselves, Colonel Malcolm informs us, reaches from latitude $28^{\circ} 40'$ to beyond latitude 32° N., and includes all the Penjab, a small part of Multau, and most of that tract of country which lies between the Junna and the Sutledge, 'the finest portion of the once great empire of the house of Taimur.' 'A general estimate,' he says, 'of the value of the country possessed by the Sikhs may be formed, when it is stated, that it contains, besides other countries, the whole of the province of Lahore; which, agreeable to Mr. Bernier, produced in the reign of Aurengzebe, two hundred and forty-six lacs and ninety-five thousand rupees; or two millions four hundred and sixty-nine thousand five hundred pounds sterling.' Theirs was, then, no slight revolt from the faith of Brahma. To all the persevering asseverations that the religion of the Hindus is unchangeable, it is enough to answer, ---*the Sikhs!*

'Guru Govind,' says our author, 'gave a new character to the religion of his followers---not by making any material alteration in the tenets of Nanac, but by establishing institutions and usages, which not only separated them from other Hindus, but which, by the complete abolition of all distinction of casts, destroyed at one blow a system of civil polity, that, from being interwoven with the religion of

colm, and avowed by thousands among the rich and powerful of our countrymen, is altogether out of the reach of dispute.

a weak and bigotted race, fixed the rule of its priests upon a basis that had withstood the shock of ages. Though the code of the Hindus was calculated to preserve a vast community in tranquillity and obedience to its rulers, it had the natural effect of making the country, in which it was established, an easy conquest to every powerful foreign invader; and it appears to have been the contemplation of this effect that made Guru Govind resolve on the abolition of cast, as a necessary and indispensable prelude to any attempt to arm the original native population of India against their foreign tyrants.'

Are no lessons to British statesmen taught by a passage like this? Is there no danger lest the example of Guru Govind should teach another reformer the necessity of breaking down the distinctions of caste for a similar attempt. Is any security against this danger, we again ask, equal to the propagation of Christianity?---the only chance we possess of retaining any power over the minds of the people at that important juncture, which sooner or later will arrive, and which the example of the Sikhs assures us *may* be at no great distance, when the distinction of castes, and with it the fabric of Hindu superstition, is ripe for dissolution. We may shut our eyes, if we please, and anticipate danger from every quarter but the real one: We may see the mountain rolling towards us with careless vacant expectation: but shall we gain any thing by this wilful delusion?

We cannot enlarge this article so far as to give any thing like a detailed account of the institutions and situation of the Sikhs. The information indeed as yet afforded us respecting their domestic habits or political rules and institutions is rather scanty: nor is it easy, from the imperfect accounts which we have as yet received, to form a very true conception of their polity. At first they were pretty well combined under a religious chief or leader. But after a few successions of such leaders, they ceased to acknowledge any person in that capacity; and the country over which they extended, then became divided into a great number of little independencies. Almost every head man of a village became a species of sovereign; and governed his people by his own authority. There remained, however, a sort of federal union, though poorly organized, and badly observed. The different chiefs meet in great emergencies in a sort of national congress, and regulate the affairs in which they are jointly interested, and there is a species of nominal chief; but he acts only as the servant of this *khalsa* or congress.

Under this system, the lower orders of the Sikhs are represented as happy. 'They are protected,' says our author, 'from the tyranny and violence of the chiefs, under whom they live, by the precepts of their common religion [not much we should fear, by that], and by the condition of their country, which enables them to abandon, whenever they choose, a leader

whom they dislike; and the distance of a few miles generally places them under the protection of his rival and enemy?' This last is a very important circumstance, and often, in a state of comparative rudeness bestows a far greater share of happiness upon the subject portion of mankind, that is, the majority, than in times of greater civilization. 'It is from this cause,' says Colonel Malcolm, 'that the lowest Sikh horseman (all soldiers are horsemen) usually assumes a very independent style, and the highest chief treats his military followers with attention and conciliation;'---a fact well worthy of being studied by those governing persons, who, in a civilized country, say that men can be tained in military obedience, only when treated worse than slaves!

In the collection of the revenue in the Penjab,

'it is stated to be a general rule, that the chiefs to whom the territories belong, should receive one half of the produce, and the farmer the other: but the chief never levies the whole of his share: and in no country, perhaps, is the cultivator treated with more indulgence.'

Their mode of administering justice is thus described. Trifling disputes about property are settled by the heads of the village, by arbitration, or by the chiefs. The former mode is called penchayat, a court of five; the general number of arbitrators chosen to adjust differences and disputes. It is usual to assemble some such court of arbitration, in every part of India under a native government; and, as it is always chosen from men of the best reputation in the place where they meet, the court has a high character for justice. The decision in either of the above modes, is final; and the parties must agree to one or other. If a theft occurs, the property is recovered, and the party punished by the person from whom it was stolen, who is aided on such occasions by the inhabitants of his village or his chief. The punishment, however, is never capital. Amidst numerous absurdities, an enlightened people may sometimes gather instruction from the institutions of the rudest.

'This outline of the administration of justice among his countrymen was given,' says Colonel Malcolm, 'by a Sikh priest, who had been several years in Calcutta. He spoke of it with rapture; and insisted on its great superiority over the vexatious system of the English; which was, he said, tedious, vexatious, and expensive, and advantageous only to clever rogues.'

We shall conclude with the following character which Sir John Malcolm draws of the Sikhs.

'The character of the Sikhs, or rather Singhs, which is the name by which the followers of Guru Govind, who are all devoted to arms, are distinguished, is very marked. They have, in general, the Hindu cast of countenance, somewhat altered by their long beards, and are

to the full as active as the Mahrattas, and much more robust, from their living farther, and enjoying a better and colder climate. Their courage is equal at all times to that of any natives of India: and when wrought upon by prejudice or religion, is quite desperate. They are all horsemen, and have no infantry in their own country, except for the defence of their forts and villages, though they generally serve as infantry in foreign armies. They are bold, and rather rough in their address; which appears more to a stranger from their invariably speaking in a loud tone of voice.—The Sikhs have been reputed deceitful and cruel; but I know no grounds upon which they can be considered more so than the other tribes of India. They seemed to me, from all the intercourse I had with them, to be more open and sincere than the Mahrattas, and less rude and savage than the Affghans. They have indeed become, from national success, too proud of their own strength, and too irritable in their tempers to have patience for the wiles of the former; and they retain, in spite of their change of manners and religion, too much of the character of their Hindu ancestors to have the constitutional ferocity of the latter. The Sikh soldier is, generally speaking, brave, active, and cheerful, without polish, but neither destitute of sincerity nor attachment; and if he often appears wanting in humanity, it is not so much to be attributed to his national character, as to the habits of a life, which, from the condition of the society in which he is born, is generally passed in scenes of violence and rapine.'

Upon the whole, we express our obligations to Sir John Malcolm, for this sensible performance, which, though his stay in the country was but short, and his means of information far from complete, makes an important addition to the imperfect hints we formerly possessed relative to the origin and character of this remarkable people.

Art. XI. *Strictures on some of the Publications of the Rev. Herbert Marsh, D. D.*; intended as a Reply to his Objections against the British and Foreign Bible Society. By the Rev. Isaac Milner, D. D. F. R. S. Dean of Carlisle, and President of Queen's College, Cambridge. 8vo. pp. viii. 419. Price 9s. Cadell and Davies, Hatchard, &c. 1813.

IN the earlier ages of the Church, when, as Jerome finely observes, 'the blood of Christ was yet warm in the breasts of Christians, and the faith and spirit of religion were active and vigorous,' the grand efforts of those who had embraced the new religion were employed in delivering others from mental, moral, and bodily slavery, and bringing them to enjoy "the liberty of the sons of God." Of this the history of those times furnishes many striking instances. Thus, says Minutius Felix, when describing the circumstance which led to the celebrated conference between his two friends;---'we were walking upon the sea shore, a kindly breeze fanning and refreshing our

‘limbs, the yielding sand gently submitting to our feet, rendering the exercise still more delicious, when Cecilius on a sudden espied the statue of Serapis, and, according to the manner of the vulgar superstition, raised his hand to his mouth, and paid his adoration in kisses; on which Octavius, addressing himself to me, said, “Is it well done, brother Marcus, thus to leave your inseparable companion in the depth of vulgar darkness, and to suffer him, in so clear a day, to stumble upon stones? stones, it is true, of figure, anointed with oil and crowned; yet stones they are, notwithstanding. Can you be insensible that your permitting so gross an error in your friend, redounds no less to your disgrace than his?”’ Animated by a like noble feeling to this of Octavius, there were many, as we are assured by Clement Romanus in his epistle to the Corinthians, ‘who delivered themselves into bonds and slavery that they might restore others to liberty; many who let themselves as servants to others, that by their wages they might feed and sustain those who wanted, and instruct those who were ignorant.’ St. Ambrose caused the communion plate of his church to be broken to pieces, for the redemption of Christians who had been taken captive. Serapion sold himself to a Gentile player, lived with him, and discharged the meanest offices, till he had converted him, his wife, and whole family, to Christianity. Nay, such was the importance attached to the conversion from error, and the saving of the soul, and so especially was zeal of this kind required of those who wished to enter upon the clerical functions, that, in canon 18 of the third Council of Carthage, it is ordained, that ‘no man who has either heretics or infidels in his family, shall be admitted to the order of either bishop, presbyter, or deacon, till he has first converted those persons to the true Christian faith.’

To give the greater effect to the labours of the primitive teachers of Christianity, most astonishing exertions were made very early in the second century, and continued through the third and fourth, to translate and circulate the Scriptures (by manuscript, for there was then no other mode) in all known languages. Chrysostom assures us (Hom. 1. in Joan.) that, long before his time, the Syrians, the Egyptians, the Indians, the Persians, the Ethiopians, and a multitude of other nations, had the Scriptures translated into their own languages, ‘by which means barbarians learned to be philosophers, and women and children with the greatest ease imbibed the doctrine of the Gospel.’ Theodoret also affirms (Theod. de Curand. Græcor. Affect. Serm. 5. T. 4.) that every nation under heaven had the Scripture in its own tongue; and that even the Hebrew books were not only translated into Greek, but into the Roman, Egyptian, Persian, Indian, Armenian, Scythian, Sauromatic,

and numerous other languages. Austin, Jerome, and still earlier writers, might be cited to the same effect.

And for what purpose were the Scriptures thus promulgated in every known language? Not that they might be placed in the libraries of princes and philosophers, or lodged in the cabinets of collectors; but that a copy of the sacred roll might find its way into every family: so that the poorest and meanest might, through reading it at home, "by patience and comfort of God's 'holy word, embrace and ever hold fast the blessed hope of 'everlasting life." None, says the learned and indefatigable Bingham (*Origines Ecclesiasticæ*, lib. xiii. cap. 4.) 'ever denied them this privilege, but those persecuting tyrants, who 'intended to destroy the name and faith of Christians, together with their Bibles, out of the world.' 'Private Christians, both men and women, then enjoyed the Scriptures as 'their *birthright*; and none pretended to ravish them from 'them but the persecuting *heathens*. The Fathers of the Church 'were so far from doing this, that on the contrary they used all 'manner of arguments to induce men to read and study them; 'exhorting them not only to hear them with attention in the 'Church, but to read them privately at home with their wives 'and families; commending those that studied them, and reproving those that neglected them; making large encomiums 'upon the use and excellency of them, and *requiring* men to 'peruse them privately, as the best preparation for the public 'service and instruction.'

If we wish to seek a parallel to the spirit and the exertions of which we have been speaking, we must pass through the gloomy night of the dark ages, and even look beyond the dawnings of the Reformation onward to the present times, when it has been the privilege and the glory of Britons to originate a Society, which has for its simple but magnificent objects, the translation of the Holy Scriptures into all languages, and their circulation among "all nations, tongues, and people;" a society which thus aims, under the blessing of God, to pour the light of divine truth into every understanding, and gladden every heart with the consolations of the Gospel; a society, the limits of whose operations 'are the limits of the globe, and which, like 'the globe, every where directs its face towards heaven.'

The present age has frequently been denominated the age of wonders; and if we were inclined to adopt the term, we should most unquestionably in the series of wonders adduced to justify the use of it, specify this;---that, in the nineteenth century, there should be found a man of learning, a Christian minister, a Professor of Divinity in a Protestant University, directing all his powers for the purpose of impeding, *per fas et nefas*, the operations, and misrepresenting the objects of such a society

as this ; who, with great earnestness and apparent sincerity should set himself to prove, that it is a very dangerous thing to give away *bibles*, unless they are invariably attended by a companion that should prevent their doing mischief. So, however, it has happened ; and none of our readers will be at a loss to recognize just such an opposer of the Bible Society, in the person of Dr. Herbert Marsh, Rector of Terrington St. Clement, and Terrington St. John's in Norfolk, and Lady Margaret Professor of Divinity in the University of Cambridge. This learned gentlemen, we believe, had for some years moved on quietly, (except when he might be occasionally called forth to write an "electioneering squib," or to lecture bishops who presumed to write against him anonymously,) discharging what he doubtless supposed the duties of his Professorship and of his Rectory ; viz. prosecuting his researches into manuscripts and editions, carefully translating passages from dull German theologians, inquiring whether the rents of Lady Margaret's lands might not be raised, and sending his distant parishioners a printed letter, to inform them that 'he thinks it his *duty* as 'rector of the parish to give them an opportunity of *purchasing* 'their *tythes* before he lets them be taken in kind,' to propose to them 'the terms of composition, medium price for grain, 'marshes, &c.' and to warn them, that though they may 'reject' his 'fair proposals,' he 'shall have done his *duty* to his 'parishoners, and shall have *the satisfaction of remaining free* 'from reproach, if, after all, he shall be compelled to transfer 'his right to a lessee!' Thus laudably and *irreproachably* did our Rector and Professor pursue "the ——— tenor of his way," when the establishment of an Auxiliary Bible Society at Cambridge disturbed his repose, and filled him with the most direful apprehensions of the mischief that would inevitably ensue, if bishops and deans, vicars and curates, heads of colleges and fellows, graduates and under-graduates, should, in their eagerness to prove that they were Protestants, and to evince their belief that the Bible alone is able to make men "wise unto salvation," "forget that they were---Churchmen.

Under these apprehensions Dr. Marsh commenced, and has continued, the most decided and systematic attack upon the principles and conduct of those Churchmen who, in their zeal to save souls, and otherwise to meliorate the moral state of mankind, distribute Bibles *alone*, that ever was attempted, out of the Romish communion, by either clergyman or layman, infidel or heretic. This attack has been met, and his weapons broken, by several combatants who had taken the field against him ;* but, as whatever may be advanced by a man of eminence

* See Ecl. Rev. Vol. viii. Dec. 1812.

in the Church will, from the most natural of all prejudices, be more readily received and believed, than what is offered by a clergyman who sustains a lower office, it was still to be wished that our Professor should be encountered by at least his equal in nominal dignity. The friends of the Bible Society have now, therefore, to rejoice, that their cause is defended, and the puerilities and fallacies of Professor Marsh exposed, by such a man as Dr. Milner; not merely eminent as a Professor of Mathematics, as a President of a College, and as the Dean of Carlisle,---but eminent for his talents and attainments, for the acuteness of his intellect, and the profoundness of his philosophy; for the quietness and peaceableness of his habits, for the soundness of his faith, and the purity of his conduct.

Dr. Milner's work is at once satisfactory in the discussion of the great question between him and Dr. Marsh, instructive in the matter, and amusing in the manner. He writes like one who feels, though almost without knowing it, that he is master of his subject, and master of his opponent. 'My object (says he) is rather to shew that he is *weak*, even where he conceives himself most *strong*.' And this object he effectually attains. He attains it, too, by such a naïveté and prevailing playfulness of procedure, that though his book is somewhat prolix and tautologous, a person will find it very difficult after he has commenced its perusal to lay it down till he has proceeded regularly to the last page. Let the reader picture to himself Lemuel Gulliver stretching out his hand to a Lilliputian with a tantalizing ambiguity of manner, as though he had scarcely determined whether he should tickle him or strike him, and he will have a tolerably correct notion of the method in which the Dean of Carlisle deals with the Lady Margaret Professor.

'In my heart (says he) I love a good argument: let Dr. Marsh produce one, and I will be among the first to shew my sensibility to its *weight*. I also love to see a man warm and zealous in a cause which he believes to be important; but we are never to forget, that zeal and warmth, however intense, afford no proof of soundness and solidity.

'It is not many years since a class of eminent philosophers entertained a notion that warmth and heat, when combined with natural bodies from any heating cause, increased their weight. To settle this point, the most exquisite balances were constructed by the artists; and it was soon found, that *only* the addition of *real matter*, and not the mere communication of heat, was capable of increasing the actual weight of a body.

'But, alas! in the science of ethics we are possessed of no instrument whereby we may, with certainty, distinguish the substantial production of a sound intellect, from the plausible fancies and conjectures of a busy and misguided imagination.' p. 6.

The great question respecting the Bible Society, as it is to

be regarded, it seems, by the members of the Established Church, is, whether it have a tendency to alienate them from the Church, and especially whether it tend to produce a neglect of the Prayer-book? It is now, we believe, notorious, that Dr. Marsh, in the consideration of this question, has so managed matters as almost always to divert the attention of his readers from its real nature, to mislead their judgement, and to terrify them with chimeras. Yet, though Dr. Marsh writes for the consideration of Churchmen, and of bigoted Churchmen too (for he is a man of too enlarged an understanding to fancy that half his arguments will have the least weight with any except bigots); still it should not be forgotten that the concerns and the tendency of the Bible Society are thought of the utmost moment by many persons who fall under neither of the classes to which he has addressed himself. Men of the character to which we now allude, approve of every upright and honourable means of diminishing the existence of vice and wretchedness, and promoting the cause of virtue and holiness. They look upon all Christian and Protestant churches, whether established or tolerated, as calculated, each in its respective sort and manner, to effect these desirable purposes: established churches as immense machines, and, if pure, very efficacious ones, for the production of moral and religious good; tolerated separate churches, if pure also, as moral machines of a minuter structure, whose lesser wheels can be brought to play on materials which the larger mechanism never touches; and thus, the whole being duly harmonized and suitably actuated, they contemplate them like the mysterious wheels in Ezekiel's vision, as all "working together for good:" "Whithersoever the Spirit is to go, there is their spirit to go, and the wheels are lifted up over against them; the Spirit of the living" God "being in the wheels." Can men holding such sentiments view with jealousy and alarm the origin and rapid growth of an Institution whose sole object is the diffusion of the pure and unadulterated Word of God,---that Word which is read and taught in every Protestant church, that which contains the glorious truths that constitute "the joy and rejoicing" of the Church universal, that without which no Church would ever have been formed, and without which no Church can continue in existence? No. This is left to men who lose sight of the grand objects of the Christian dispensation, in their zeal to promote what *they* fancy the interests of a particular community. Whether the Lady Margaret Professor has or has not so done, our readers shall judge; and to assist them in coming to a decision, we will proceed with our account of Dr. Milner's book.

The following is his brief history of the "grand question," as it is supposed to affect "Churchmen."

* First, Dr. Marsh, in his Address to the Senate of the University, chose to represent the constitution of the Bible Society as being unfavourable to the distribution of the Prayer-book.—It was not a Church-of-England Society: it distributed Bibles only, and not the Liturgy: churchmen, indeed, might so far correct the evil, that they might associate Prayer-books with their Bibles.—He added, that churchmen were increasing the importance of dissenters by joining with them, and so might be contributing even to the dissolution of the Established Church.

* The churchmen of the Bible Society, as might well be expected, repelled this invidious representation with an honest fervour. They resented the insinuation of want of attachment to the church, or of indisposition to its Book of Common Prayer. The Bible, they said, was the source of Protestant doctrine; and the extensive dispersion of it by the Bible Society was a blessing to this country, and to the world; adding, that the Scriptures, without the aid of human productions, were able to make men wise unto salvation. They further denied, that, under any circumstances, the Bible could prove hurtful; and to suppose this to be possible, they maintained, savoured of Popish tenets.

* Dr. Marsh, instead of understanding this language as it was really intended, affects, in his Inquiry, to congratulate himself on a discovery to which his Address, he supposes, had led; namely, that churchmen justified the *practice* of neglecting to give the Prayer-book with the Bible.

* But here, instead of laying his short Address to the Senate of the university before the public, along with his Inquiry, which would have enabled them to judge who was the aggressor, and who the just complainant, Dr. Marsh prints an extract from his sermon at St. Paul's, and informs us, that his Address "contains precisely the same sentiments." The fact is, that the sermon, as far as it goes, contains the very same words; but it is not at all calculated to make the impression on the public mind, which the whole Address, taken in its connection, is likely to do. The very offensive part of it is almost entirely suppressed; and although, for the temporary purpose of stifling the growing zeal for an auxiliary Bible Society at Cambridge, many copies of this Address may have been circulated some weeks before the publication of the Inquiry, it was by no means an easy matter to procure it at the time when the Inquiry made its appearance.

* Our Inquirer, instead of attempting to prove by fair argumentation (what was indeed impossible to be proved), that the distribution of the Bible alone would most probably make bad Churchmen, proceeds to crowd many pages of his book, in the first place, with diffuse eulogies on the excellence and importance of the liturgy, which no Churchman denies; and in the next place, with charges or insinuations, more or less direct, against the Churchmen of the Bible Society, of being disaffected to their Prayer-book; and with surmises and conjectures of the political dangers, which, he thinks, may probably ensue from this assumed disaffection.

* Never, in his whole life, Dr. Marsh tells us, did he undertake to write on a subject which he found so "intricate and perplexed" as

the present. I verily believe he found it so: he had the hardest task in the world to execute. He had to make out, that the liberal distribution of the genuine Bible alone, by a society of Christians of various denominations, was mischievous in the extreme; and might ultimately tend even to the dissolution of the Established Church. "Difficile est satyram non scribere."

'When a man has selected his own road, through by-ways, among fens and swamps and brambles, or has himself planted it with briers and thorns and thickets, he should not be the first to complain that he finds his way "intricate and perplexed," that he is goaded and punctured in his march, and that his progress is impeded, in spite of all his care and circumspection. Never did Dr. Marsh meddle with a subject so "intricate and perplexed!!" ' pp. 15—19.

The Dean of Carlisle after this summary exposition, proceeds to lift the Lady Margaret Professor out of the intricacy and perplexity in which he found him immersed: and then accompanies him step by step through the whole of his enquiries. The Dean indeed goes with him into every nook, and corner, and lurking hole, and labyrinth, of the 'intricate' argument and does not leave him in possession of a single crevice. He exposes his quibbling, his insidious insinuations, his censoriousness, his want of logical acumen: whether he runs or creeps, soars or burrows, he is always at his side: he strips him, not merely of the cobweb covering, of his fallacious and flimsy reasoning, but of all the assumed plumes in which he had decked himself as a critic, a mathematician, and a theologian; and leaves him as denuded and pitiable an animal as ever was exhibited in the cock-pit of controversy.

There is one way in which the labours of the Dean of Carlisle, on the present occasion, cannot but be peculiarly serviceable to the Bible Society; we mean by his lowering the *authority* of Dr. Marsh, and thus limiting the mischief which his publications might have otherwise occasioned. He effects this, not only by refuting his reasoning, and controverting his pretended "FACTS"; but by shewing that it has usually been his fortune to be on the wrong side in the several controversies in which he has been so forward to engage, and that he has always conducted them indecorously.

The grand *fact* brought forward by Dr. Marsh, as our readers may easily recollect, is that there has been a considerable *diminution* in the printing and sale of Prayer-books, since the establishment of the Bible Society. Dr. Marsh adduced this with great show of accuracy and parade of documents: but when his evidence comes to be examined, it appears, that he has *omitted* some very essential data, which, when brought into the account, cause the balance to lie on the *opposite* side to that in which Dr. Marsh had thrown it. It is proved, upon unquestionable evidence, that upwards of 14,000 more Prayer-books have

been printed annually in England, *since* the formation of this society, than were printed *before*; and that without taking into the estimate the great increase occasioned by the establishment of the Prayer-book and Homily Society, a society, by the way, which doubtless arose out of the Bible Society.

Again :

‘ Dr. Marsh appears to triumph not a little in what he calls the discovery of another FACT; and he desires his reader to keep the fact in remembrance, “that churchmen justify the omission of the Liturgy in their distribution of the Bible.” ’

‘ The request was certainly unnecessary. The pretended FACT, and the unwarranted censure founded upon it, will not easily be forgotten. And although I have expressed a hope that our Inquirer may, on reflection, be sorry for the part he has acted, I am constrained to acknowledge the existence of a fear, at least equivalent to any hope that I can entertain. A loaded die thrown ever so often, and even without art or subtilty, is sure to present the same side upwards,—because it is loaded.

‘ If the representations contained in the Inquiry, can possibly have availed to make any impression on the public mind, it must be chiefly owing to those clouds of obscurity and confusion with which the Inquirer has enveloped the subject, through the ambiguous use of the expressions so often mentioned, namely, distribution of the Bible alone, omission of the Liturgy, neglect of the Liturgy, &c. &c.

‘ Page after page I look in vain for positions that are clear, for argumentation that proceeds straight forward, and for inferences that are well connected.

‘ One of the ablest controversialists that ever existed always advised his friends, in their difficulties to raise but dust enough, and they might find a way to get off in the clouds.

‘ That grand depredator of heathen antiquity, Cacus, is said to have concealed himself a long time in his secret fastnesses, by dragging backward, and in twisted directions, his stolen cattle; and it is further reported, that when he was on the point of being discovered, he had the art of defending himself by throwing out immense volleys of hot smoke and fume, till at length he was laid hold of and squeezed to death in the arms of Hercules.

‘ I know not that I should have ventured to amuse the reader with the recollection of such an odd story as this, if Dr. Marsh had not set the example of relieving a tiresome controversy, by imagining a sort of comparison between some friends of the Bible Society, and Anacharsis Cloots and Peter the Hermit.’ pp. 46—48.

Once more, the Professor of Divinity having informed his readers, at p. 48, of his Inquiry, that a Calvinist may in many respects, have a great regard for the English Liturgy, but that he cannot have much pain in parting with it (as though such men as Beveridge, and Hooker, and Scott, could not prize the Liturgy equally with Professor Marsh,) proceeds thus :

‘ Indeed we *know* that the English Liturgy was so offensive to the Calvinists in Scotland, that the very attempt to intro-

‘duce it into that country, produced an insurrection, which ended with the solemn league and covenant, to which the English Calvinists acceded. And this very assembly of Divines declared in the preface to the Directory, that the Liturgy used in the Church of England, . . . had proved an offence . . .’

On this, Dr. Milner remarks. ‘How treacherous are the human passions ! Let Dr. Marsh, if he can, and be so disposed, grind the Calvinists to powder ; but let not this be done by the operation of such engines, as are prohibited by the immutable laws of equity :’ and he goes on to prove most decisively, that it was not the English Liturgy which then gave so much dissatisfaction, and that Dr. Marsh has, in reference to this point of history, exhibited an obscure jumble of materials in such delusive colouring, as could not fail to give a very unjust impression as to the matter of fact. He then sets the interesting circumstances of the times, to which, Dr. Marsh, so invidiously directed the attention of his readers, in the light of day and of truth ; and draws from the whole, the following conclusions :

‘ 1. The downfall of our constitution, both civil and ecclesiastical was not owing to any single cause, but to a remarkable concurrence of causes. The conduct of Charles I. and of both the Houses of Parliament, and the decay of Christian practice and principles, both among churchmen and dissenters, notwithstanding some splendid exceptions, greatly contributed to the mischief.

‘ 2. One of the first and chief firebrands was the king’s rash attempt to impose upon the Scotch, by his own authority, not the English Liturgy, but the English Liturgy mutilated, and very much modified in favour of Popery.

‘ 3. The profaneness and immoralities of the clergy injured their credit, and almost ruined their influence, and gave great advantage to sectarian enthusiasm and hypocrisy.

‘ 4. Due respect for the Liturgy, and a reverent attention to forms and ceremonies, must infallibly decay when these are no longer supported by a suitable Christian practice of piety and virtue.

‘ 5. The Church of Rome brought destruction on itself more by the vices and corruptions of its clergy, than even by either its numerous theoretical errors, or the folly and impiety which contaminate its Missal, amidst the excellent prayers contained in it, many of which have been very properly retained in the Service of the Church of England.

‘ 6. It is not true that the episcopalian party neglected and disparaged our Liturgy, in any other way than that which I have stated. They did not disparage it as a formulary essential to the ecclesiastical constitution of the country : nevertheless, it is a lamentable truth that their lives did not correspond with the principles they professed. *Here was a neglect and a disparagement of the spiritual use of the Liturgy, which proved big with infinite mischief.* Indeed too many of the clergy of those times appear to have had their minds intent only on the political advantages of the ecclesiastical establishment.

Dr. Marsh, whose penetrating eye sees political interests, and the supply of temporal wants, even in the constitution of a society which has no other object except that of making Bibles plentiful and cheap, will not be at a loss to understand this observation.

‘ I much deceive myself if the preceding reflections are not fully supported by the history of the events of the great Rebellion.

‘ Dr. Marsh would have us believe that there is a striking resemblance between the events of that period and the proceedings of the present Bible Society ; and one of the circumstances on which he appears to lay much stress is, that a Professor of Divinity at Cambridge is accused of Popery because he pleads for the Liturgy. Here again, “ *Difficile est satyram non scribere* ;” and certainly it would be difficult to forbear being satirical, if the extreme gravity and solemnity with which the parallel is supported did not rather awaken opposite sentiments, and repress every disposition to severity. Alas ! what must become of the church ? Dr. Marsh, the defender, not only of Protestantism, but of Protestantism under the right form, the champion of the church, is ungratefully treated as a Papist ! I hope, however, that when Dr. Marsh shall actually be accused of Popery, he will be able to defend himself better than Archbishop Laud did, when a similar accusation was made against him, for altering and new-modelling the English Prayer-book, so as to make it come nearer to the Popish Mass-book*.’ pp. 121—123.

The Dean of Carlisle, after describing the mischiefs which Professor Marsh’s recent publications are calculated to produce, such as, the disunion of churchmen, the irritation of dissenters, scattering the seeds of jealousy between the Bible Society and that at Bartlett’s Buildings, exciting the suspicion that many clergymen have not a due esteem for the Bible, the unnecessary introduction of the question concerning Calvinism, &c. proceeds to answer such inquiries as these : ‘ Who is Dr. Marsh ? Is Dr. Marsh an eminent divine ? Has Dr. Marsh defended the leading doctrines of Christianity with peculiar ability ? Has he succeeded in illustrating them with any considerable acuteness ? Has he enforced the practice of them with extraordinary exertions ?’ His reply to these queries, occupying nearly 100 pages, contains a history of some of Dr. Marsh’s publications, their tendency, their spirit, and their success ; the whole furnishing a chaplet of such unwithering flowers, as we think was never bound to the brow of any preceding Lady Margaret Professor. We are first presented with an account of his controversy with a learned Prelate of the English Church, occasioned by the strange hypothesis, proposed in his translation of Michaelis’s Introduction to the New Testament. This hypothesis Dr. Milner examines with great acuteness

* Since this was written, the Rev. P. G. Randolph has triumphantly claimed Dr. Marsh as a defender of Popish sentiments ; and I cannot say that his reply to this Roman Catholic divine is by any means satisfactory.

and profundity, and points out its main defects. The following quotation will show, that Dr. Marsh's manner of conducting a controversy, on that occasion, was not *very* dissimilar to the way in which he now proceeds.

‘ His Right Reverend Anonymaous Adversary, in 1804, complains, that Dr. Marsh's mode of answering was such “as if he sought to carry his cause by much writing;” and “to cover a plain question with perplexities, and to hide from the reader the true points on which it turns.” And, again, that “Mr. Marsh has contrived to embarrass the question by dwelling on *collateral* circumstances, by introducing matter foreign to the purpose, and turning the argument into a personal dispute.”

‘ Another most striking example of similarity I perceive in those numerous passages of the Inquiry, which mark the *self-complacency* of the Inquirer; his *ostentation* and *disposition* to appeal to his own penetration; his great success, and the singularity of his achievements, in literary concerns’ p. 235.

The Dean of Carlisle next lays before his readers the history of a very celebrated “THEOREM,” of which it seems the Lady Margaret Professor has been apt to boast.

‘ The confidence with which the Inventor looked upon his theorem, appears from the *manner* in which he speaks of it to his adversary, Mr. Travis. “If you are a mathematician as well as a critic,” (says he, in his usual style of complacent superiority) “you will instantly perceive its truth; and if you are unable to judge for yourself, you have certainly mathematical friends who will inform you that the demonstration is founded on just principles.”

‘ Let the reader pause a moment to consult his own feelings,—whether he does not think that a man who uses such language as this, ought, at least, to have very good grounds for concluding that he is right?

‘ The Inventor of the theorem then proceeds to give an instance of its application to a particular case, by which he is led to conclude that there is a very high degree of probability that a certain MS. in the library of the University of Cambridge, is one of those which were employed by R. Stephens, for his edition of the Greek Testament.

‘ The long algebraical process used by Dr. Marsh, determines the chance in favour of the identity of these two MSS. to be as the number 93132 quintillions + 257461 + quatrillions + 543601 trillions + 562499 billions + 999999 millions + 999999, to unity; or, in round numbers, as 93132 quintillions, that is, millions of millions of millions of millions of millions of millions, to unity.’ pp. 240, 241.

‘ “I have often heard,” says Dr. Black, “in the passage already quoted, such arguments for *what I knew to be nonsense.*” In repeating this, and expressing my entire agreement with that great philosopher, I solemnly protest against any intention of giving offence to Dr. Marsh. But such is the fact:—the moment I heard of so

prodigiously high a degree of probability being inferred from such a coincidence of readings, I was sure there must be nonsense *somewhere*.

'I do not mean to trouble the reader with the tedious and intricate algebraical processes of Dr. Marsh. Probably these may be all correct. I have not so much as examined the detail with any degree of attention. Besides, I trust I should be ashamed to cavil at such mistakes in the management of complex computations as any man may fall into, and which "aut incuria fudit, aut humana parum cavit natura." My objection is to the principle upon which the whole computation proceeds.' p. 242.

'The reasoning, in this instance, ought to be analogous to that of the die with an unknown number of sides. By casting this die a great number of rounds, each round consisting of six casts, the constitution of the die was so far determined, that there were five chances to one against the coming up of a white face upon any single trial. In like manner the constitution of a number of MSS. in regard to a particular reading is supposed to be unknown; and if upon examining a great number of sets of these MSS. each set consisting of ten MSS. it should turn out that this reading is almost always found in some one of the ten, and in no other; or, if upon comparing the number of all the MSS. taken together, in which the reading is not found, with the number of all those in which it appears, there should be a near approach to the ratio of nine to one, the legitimate conclusion, doubtless is, that on examining any other of these MSS. there is one chance in ten of finding the said reading.

'Dr. Marsh arrives at the same conclusion after having examined only a single set of the MSS.

'Our Inquirer, who has set me the example of expressing anxiety for the honour of our University, ("what a notion," says he, "will men form of the University of Cambridge?") will allow me, in my turn, and in my capacity of Professor of Mathematics, to exclaim, What a notion will men form of the mathematical learning of our University, when they shall hear of the Margaret Professor of Divinity, educated in the centre of mathematical and philosophical instruction—appealing to his mathematical knowledge, resting his conclusions upon algebraical processes, and yet reasoning precisely as a person would do, who, being supposed entirely without experience of the influence which climate, and season, and many other causes have upon the weather, and yet, desirous of forming some rules for judging of it from his own future observations, should, with this view, commence a course of careful attention to the variations of the weather, and record the facts for ten days successively, and upon finding those ten days to have been all rainy days, except one, should conclude that it was nine to one that the next day would also prove rainy.'

Our author proceeds, in the last place, to scrutinize Dr. Marsh's title to the character of a great *divine*:

'Dr. Marsh appears to me to lay abundantly too much stress on the niceties of Biblical criticism. I do not think that such a depth

of that kind of knowledge, as I understand him to recommend, is at all necessary for students in general; nor do I think that much time spent by them in such pursuits would be well spent; especially as it would leave them too little time for the study of other branches of divinity. I do not think that a minute and accurate investigation of the various readings of manuscripts, or a scientific knowledge of the grounds of preference in settling the very best reading in all cases, ought to be considered as the most important part of divinity. Experience shews, that men may be very knowing in these things, and yet be very poor divines; may spend their lives in the cultivation of this species of knowledge, and yet be neither remarkable for the soundness of their faith in Revelation, their skill in apprehending its doctrines, or their zeal in enforcing them.' pp. 263, 4.

' Dr. Marsh perhaps may think, that the preaching and expounding of the word of God, and diligently exhorting the people to an observance of Christian duties, however useful these parochial employments may be, scarcely merit the name of the Study of Divinity. On the other hand, I should not be surprised if some of his opponents (as he terms them) should insinuate to him that Biblical criticism is a subject on which a person of tolerable attainments and plausible address may, in a little time, and with no great depth of learning, compose a few superficial lectures, extracted from various prefaces, and prolegomena of authors, especially from those of the laborious German writers, which may appear sufficiently specious and imposing to those who are scarcely acquainted with such subjects; but that "rightly to divide the word of truth," to understand the doctrines of the Bible, and to apply them with judgment and effect according to the different circumstances of men in various parishes and congregations, is divinity indeed—is that which indeed merits the dignified name; and that to do all this well, requires length of time, sobriety of thought, with much pious zeal and practical observation.' pp. 267—8.

Sentiments like these are worthy of a dignified clergyman of the church. We add only one extract more.

' In regard to such questions as, "Who has done most to promote the study of the Bible?" and again, "Is Dr. Marsh an eminent divine?" I conceive, after what I have said, there can be little difficulty. For it happens in this case as in many others, that all obscurities and ambiguities vanish as soon as the terms of the inquiry are clearly stated. Never yet have I heard a single person contend that Dr. Marsh was "mighty" in the doctrines of the "Scriptures;" or that he was either skilful or industrious in making men wise unto salvation. He tells us*, that he has frequently tried our Liturgy and Articles of Faith by the test of the Scriptures. I wish that among his various writings there was to be found, for our instruction, a single discourse or dissertation on any important doctrinal subject. But as I am not aware of this, I shall content myself with simply observing, that in the two or three specimens which I remember of Dr. Marsh's divinity, delivered in

the pulpit of St. Mary's, I had to lament what I thought an erroneous conception of a most essential article of our faith, and also a misrepresentation of a divine who is well known to have maintained it with singular zeal and perseverance.

'In fact, the attention of Dr. Marsh has been drawn to things very different from the leading doctrines of the Scriptures, and their application to practice; and I am persuaded he has yet much to learn, before he can convince any person who looks into evidences, and ventures to judge for himself, that he is either an eminent divine, or that he has much contributed to the promotion of sound scriptural knowledge.

'I cannot conclude this head better than in the words of the Right Rev. anonymous Author of the Remarks before quoted—"Upon the whole," says he, "it will be thought, I trust, that I speak moderately, when I say only, that Mr. Marsh takes too much upon himself."

We may now, we believe, spare ourselves the labour of adding further remarks, and leave the decision of this question to the judgement of the public. Indeed, we should not have extended this article to so great a length, but for two reasons. First, because the Dean of Carlisle, though one of the best scholars, one of the best mathematicians, and (as we have always understood) one of the best men now living, has been prevented by his long sustained and increasing infirmities, from being much known to the world as an author; and, therefore, demands a more respectful attention when he steps from the retirement of his college: and secondly, because, unless the Lady Margaret Professor is determined to exhibit himself a living commentary upon Proverbs xxvii. 22., we conceive this is the last time we shall have to mention his name as an opponent to the British and Foreign Bible Society.

Art. XII. *On the Sacrifice of Christ; its Nature, Value, and Efficacy:* a Discourse delivered at the Rev. George Burder's Meeting-house, March 11, 1813, to the Patrons and Students of the Protestant Dissenting Academy at Homerton. With enlargements and a Supplement of Notes and Illustrations. By John Pye Smith, D. D. 8vo. pp. iv. 91. Price 3s. Conder. 1813.

[F any doctrine of our holy religion possess a peculiar and pre-eminent importance, it is that which forms the subject of this interesting discourse. No doctrine is more frequently or distinctly exhibited in the sacred volume, or is more essential to the harmony and effect of the entire system of divine truth. Its intimate connection with the scope and design of the Mosaic economy; its prominence in the records of prophetic and apostolic testimony; and its moral influence on the

hearts and conduct of all who receive it, render it of vital consequence to the Christian revelation, and to our individual interest in its blessings. The importance of the doctrine may be ascertained, not only by the views of its advocates, but by the opposition of its enemies. Aware of the subserviency of scriptural phraseology to its support, they employ all the artifices of sophistical explanation, to adapt that phraseology to their reduced and evasive opinions. Propositions are thrown into the crucible of criticism, that they may be melted down, and assume a convenient shape, to suit their dextrous ambiguities. Recourse is had to figures of speech---Jewish allusions---accommodations to existing prejudices---and sundry occult methods of construction. But all will be in vain, as long as honesty, candour, and good sense exist in the world; for let these dispositions accompany an inquirer to the study of revelation, confirmed as its discoveries are, by notices of facts existing in ancient and modern times, by fragments of remote tradition, by religious usages amongst idolatrous nations, and by the impossibility of accounting for these traditions and usages without referring to the Scriptures; and we feel no hesitation in asserting, independently of still surer grounds of confidence, that the doctrine of *vicarious sacrifice* will be ever retained in the Christian world, as the primary characteristic peculiarity of our holy religion.

The discourse before us forms, we think, a valuable supplement to the elaborate work of Dr. Magee, to which, somewhat more than a year ago, we had the pleasure of directing the attention of our readers.* As far as the question can be determined by criticism and facts, well supported and authenticated, the disquisitions of Dr. Magee have set it at rest for ever; and indeed it is on such ground, perhaps, that its adversaries in modern times can be most successfully encountered. Those first principles on which a *theological* vindication of the doctrine of atonement is founded, are to be themselves defended and established. The points at which the reasonings of opponents in this case commence, are widely remote from each other, and the *data* of appeal have never been precisely determined and mutually acknowledged. The parties differ essentially in their views of the character and government of God---the authority of Revelation---the province of human reason---and the relative importance of the doctrines which form the subjects of discussion. Is it surprising that the further they proceed, the distance of separation increases? It is however such a divergence, as illustrates most satisfactorily the radical scepticism of their generalising, and the identity of

* Vid. Ecl. Rev. for March and April, 1812.

modern Socinianism with philosophical infidelity. Their reasonings are the reasonings of a spirit unsubdued by the authority of Scripture, and uninfluenced by its holy and humbling principles. Still they are *nominally* Christians, and when unable to bend the plain decisive assertions of the bible to their purpose, they avail themselves of fallacious criticisms, and dubious or perverted statements of facts. The obscure documents of ecclesiastical history are pressed into their service; and that homage is paid to the doubtful meaning or disputed passages of an ancient Father, which is never rendered to the clear and obvious declarations of Scripture. But even here their usual ill success attends them; and after the triumphant researches of Horsley and Magee it must be a desperate cause indeed, which flies for refuge to such feeble and inadequate expedients as "criticism and the Fathers!"

In the "collation" of coincidences and differences between Dr. Magee and Dr. Smith, the latter introduces the following judicious remark on the work of the former.

'To theological sentiments, distinct from the general subject, Dr. M. has but sparing and brief allusions: so that it would be presumptuous to form a decided opinion as to his approval of the views of Christian doctrine, advanced in these pages, or his dissent from them. I fear, however, that some passages in his work indicate a material difference from those views which I think it my duty to maintain upon the real value of the Redeemer's sacrifice,—its relation to the moral attributes and government of God,—its connection with the divine nature of Christ,—its efficacy—and its application.' p. 90.

On these important subjects we feel happy in expressing our cordial concurrence with the learned author of the *Discourse*.

'A *sacrifice* (says Dr. Smith), properly so called, is the solemn infliction of death on a living creature, generally by effusion of its blood, in a way of religious worship; and the presenting of this act to the Deity, as a supplication for the pardon of sin, and a supposed mean of compensation for the insult and injury thereby offered to his majesty and government.' (p. 4.)

This definition is illustrated at some length, and convincing arguments are adduced to prove---that the ancient rite of sacrifice was a symbolical action---that sacrifices had a designed significancy, and were intended as a species of symbolical language to convey to the mind most important sentiments.

'Let us (observes the Doctor) in imagination view the striking scenery of a Patriarchal or Levitical sacrifice. A victim is selected, the best of the flock or the herd, without blemish or defect. It is brought before the altar of the Lord; its life-blood flows upon the ground; it is divided, and burned with fire;—while the conscious sinner sees his own desert and prays—"Now, O Lord, I have sinned,

I have committed iniquity, I have rebelled : thus and thus have I done. But I return in repentance to thy presence; and be this my expiation.* Could it have been difficult to perceive the solemn meaning of this significant action? Or was it possible for a serious and thinking mind to avoid recognizing and deeply feeling principles such as these?—that sin is an offence against the blessed God, most heinous in its evil nature, aggravated in its inseparable though varying circumstances, and absolutely insufferable before his holy presence :—that the essential righteousness of Jehovah renders it necessary and inevitable that sin should be punished :—that death in all its tremendous meaning and extent is the proper punishment of sin :—that the sinner is totally unable by any powers or resources of his own, to escape the punishment due to his offences :—yet that God is full of mercy, and graciously willing to pardon the guilty offender :—that the way of pardon is through the substitution and sufferings of a peculiar victim ;—and that on the part of the suitor for pardoning mercy, there must be such a proprietorship in the victim, as to create a beneficiary interest ; and such a moral disposition as cordially acquiesces in the punitive acts of divine justice.' pp. 13, 15.

These reasonings are applied to the sacrifice of Christ; and the doctrine of vicarious substitution is most happily supported by scripture testimony, and forcible argumentation. Citations from the Old and New Testament are adduced to prove, that 'the ancient sacrifices were intended to represent the great work for which the Messiah was expected;' and 'that the objects of which those sacrifices were only declarative, were really effected by the sacrifice of Christ. These objects are specified to be---the manifestation of important truths respecting the perfections and government of God---that Jesus Christ sustained the guilt and punishment of sin---and the satisfaction resulting to the public honour of the divine government by the sacrifice of Christ. This discussion of the nature and design of Christ's sacrifice is followed by some profound and interesting observations on its proper value. It is obvious that we may be authorised to pronounce that to be *valuable*, and *infinitely valuable*, when no information of which we are possessed, would enable us to ascertain the proper metaphysical cause of the value in question: and to those who object to the *fact* of Christ's sacrifice, that they know not *how* it can be efficacious, this remark is an appropriate answer. But, admitting the doctrine of sacrifice, it becomes an inquiry of no small magnitude---what are the circumstances, or what is the circumstance, out of which arises the true proper value of the Redeemer's sacrifice? Does it result merely from divine appointment or from some inherent intrinsic dignity in the sacrifice itself? If it arise merely from the constitution of things, the arbitrary arrangements of Deity, why is

* An ancient Jewish form, on sacrificial occasions. Ap. Outram. V. 13.

it described in the sacred volume as the *only* expedient by which the claims of justice and the exercise of mercy could be harmonised? Why is it said, that God "*spared not his own Son?*" a phrase conveying very naturally the implication, that if any other method of satisfaction could have been devised, it would have been adopted. There must therefore have been in the sacrifice itself, something *absolutely peculiar*, on which all its value and efficacy depended. 'The TRUE and ESSENTIAL DEITY of Christ is that relative consideration, which confers ITS own dignity upon the constituted person of the Messiah, and upon his whole mediatorial work.' (p. 51.)

'In my most serious estimation,' continues Dr. Smith, 'and may I presume to say, after no careless or precipitate inquiry—the pillar and ground of truth is—"the mystery of godliness;" it is "the living God who was manifested in the flesh," and stamped his own glory upon the propitiation for our sins. How this effect was produced; how the Saviour's divine nature conveyed its own infinite value to the obedience and sufferings of "the flesh," the human nature,—it is no objection or difficulty with me to believe that mortals cannot know. I should rather think it, a presumption against any sentiment which respected the mode of the Deity's existence and agency that it contained nothing but what was perfectly plain to our mental perceptions. But we may shew the reasonableness of a doctrine, and rebut the charges which rashness or profaneness may throw out against it, without overstepping the boundary prescribed to our feeble and fallen faculties. With deference therefore, I submit to your candid minds some considerations, not, I trust, unauthorised by scripture and reason.

'1. The assumption of human nature by the eternal word, who is God, was the act of an infinite mind, knowing, intending, and contemplating, all the results of that act of assumption through the period of the designed humiliation and for ever. Consequently as the actual assumption of human nature, was the first result of the Omnipotent will, so the same act or volition must equally have carried forwards and communicated its original Divine value to all the subsequent moral and mediatorial acts of the incarnate Saviour. 2. The union of the Divine and human natures, in his person was constant and invariable. The Scriptures afford us no reason to think that the Messiah's human nature, though retaining always its essential properties, had ever a separate subsistence. To the mother of Jesus it was announced, "The holy being which is born of thee shall be called the Son of God;" and according to the prophetic declaration, as soon as the world could say, "unto us a child is born," so soon was it the fact that his name was called, "the Wonderful, the Counsellor, the Mighty God!" it was the Mediator in his whole person that acted for the salvation of men; though it was impossible that the Divine nature could be subject to suffering. From these two positions, I infer a third, which I venture to propose as an unexceptionable mode of stating this important, though profound and difficult subject. 3. All the acts of our Lord Jesus Christ, that were physical or merely in-

tellectual, were acts of his human nature alone, being necessary to the subsistence of a human nature ; but all his moral acts and all the moral qualities of complex acts, or, in other terms, all that he did in and for the execution of his mediatorial office and work,—were impressed with the essential dignity and moral value of his Divine perfection. I cannot decline to observe how close and important is the connection between *the two leading doctrines of the Christian system, the Deity and the atonement of Christ*. They yield mutual illustration and support ; and neither can be consistently held without the other."

There is a slight shade of scholastic obscurity thrown around some parts of this statement which renders the meaning not very obvious ; but in the general sentiment, that it is the union of deity with humanity in the person of Mediator, that communicates infinite value to all the Redeemer's mediatorial obedience, we most devoutly coincide with Dr. Smith ; and we are happy to find him bearing so decisive a testimony in favour of this grand and momentous doctrine. On the subject of the "Person of Christ" we expect ere long to meet with an elaborate examination, from the author of this discourse ; and we hail this "note of preparation" with our cordial applause. We have ever been accustomed to regard the divinity of the Saviour as occupying the central place in the system of truth, to which all its parts are subordinate---which binds them in sacred concord, and gives them radiance and life and vigour. Abandon this sublime peculiarity, and the holy harmonies are broken, the glory becomes dim, and the light of salvation is extinguished for ever. From conscientious conviction, we feel disposed to embrace every opportunity of recording our humble attachment to these "leading doctrines" of Christianity ; and it is this conviction that has led us to notice and commend the learned and judicious discourse before us. Shall we be forgiven, however, for venturing to question the propriety of those frequent variations, from the authorized and established translation, which occur in the texts of Scripture cited by Dr. Smith. We doubt not the possibility and desirableness of emendation in many passages of our old English version ; but the criticism of modern times has assumed so fastidious a character, and the liberty of correcting is so frequently used "for a cloak of maliciousness," that we think it advisable not to depart from the phraseology and terms of our venerable translation, unless the error be obvious and important. Theologians of the present age seem rapidly transforming into scholiasts and sciologists ; and the minute and elaborate trifling of verbal criticism, altering for the sake of altering, when no object of utility whatever is gained, seems to be the occupation and the mania of the day. In this censure we are far from intending

to implicate the excellent author of this discourse, having, on the contrary, been much gratified by the general scope and tendency of his critical "notes and illustrations." We would moreover advert to the spirit and temper of this publication, as demanding our special notice. It is evident that Dr. Smith is not the mere professional advocate of the doctrine of sacrifice. He feels its importance. His reasonings and appeals are imbued with the fervor and devotion of his mind. He writes like one, who, in addition to the speculative conviction of the truth, is conscious of its holy and happy influence; and who, from the trial and proof of its value, is ardently concerned to "persuade men."

In several parts of the discourse and the appendix, the author successfully exposes those misrepresentations of the doctrine of atonement which have been given by its friends, and of which its enemies willingly avail themselves. The terms--- "guilt---satisfaction---punishment," &c. are accurately explained; and the sophistry of Socinian criticism is acutely detected. On the subject of the *extent* of Christ's death, affecting the Arminian controversy, there is an excellent passage in the 58th page, which we would commend to the particular attention of systematic thinkers on both sides of the question. We shall close our notice of this able and learned discourse, by inserting the concluding paragraph.

'Some carelessly disregard this grand truth, or professedly disbelieve it. But have they taken care to understand what this doctrine really is? Have they attended to it with the serious diligence which it demands? Have they scrutinized its evidence and tendency with impartiality and prayer, with a sense of their accountableness as creatures, and of their humiliating condition as sinners? "O that they were wise; that they understood this!" O that they would faithfully search into the motives of their culpable inattention, the secret springs of their disbelief! Are there no criminal passions; no irreligious prejudices, which indispose them to the search? Is there no pride of fancied virtue, or of imagined superiority of discernment:—no unwillingness to concede the painful charge of sin and guilt and ruin, which this doctrine presupposes; no reluctance to admit that sin is that unutterable and flagitious evil, which on these principles it must be; no secret dislike to those humiliating reflections, that entire self renunciation, and those strict obligations to holiness which must be felt by him who truly receives Christ as his wisdom and righteousness, sanctification and redemption? The day is coming, which shall declare. Amidst the awful developements of that day, may our "faith be found unto praise and glory and honour, at the appearing of Jesus Christ!"'—(p. 63, 64.)

ART. XIII. SELECT LITERARY INFORMATION.

•• *Gentlemen and Publishers who have works in the press will oblige the Conductors of the ECLECTIC REVIEW, by sending Information (post paid) of the subject, extent, and probable price of such works; which they may depend upon being communicated to the public, if consistent with its plan.*

Speedily will be published *Geological Travels in some Parts of France, Switzerland, and Germany.* By J. A. De Luc, Esq. F. R. S. Translated from the French Manuscript. In 2 vols. 8vo, and illustrated by two topographical Maps.

Shortly will be published in 2 vols. 8vo. *A Treatise on Algebra, in Practice and Theory, methodically arranged in Two Parts, and adapted to the present State of the Science; together with Notes and Illustrations, containing a great variety of Particulars relating to the Discoveries and Improvements that have been made in this Branch of Analysis.* By John Bonnycastle, Professor of Mathematics in the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich.

Shortly will be published, elegantly printed in Imperial Quarto (dedicated, by Permission, to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent) *Historical, Military, and Picturesque Observations on Portugal; illustrated by numerous coloured Views, and authentic Plans of all the Sieges and Battles fought in the Peninsula, during the present War.* By George Laudmann, Captain in the Corps of Royal Engineers, Lieutenant-colonel in the same Corps in the Service of Spain, with Brevet-rank of Colonel.

Shortly will be published, *Vigilance, a Counterbalance to past Concessions, and a Preventive of future Prodigality, recommended in Two Charges and a Letter to the Clergy of the Diocese of Durham.* A new Edition with a Preface, in Reply to Mr. Lingard's Preface. By Shute Bishop of Durham.

The Subscribers to the British Gallery of Portraits are respectfully informed, that the Fourteenth Number of that Work is now ready for delivery; containing, the Right Hon. Lord Grenville Leveson Gower; Admiral

Sir Samuel Hood, K. B. the Hon. Alexander Fraser Tytler, Lord Woolhouselee, Benjamin West, Esq. President of the Royal Academy; George Chalmers, Esq. F. R. S. and S. A. and the late George Colman, Esq. with Biographical Notices.

Captain Matthew Flinders is preparing for publication, by authority of the Board of Admiralty, a *Voyage to Terra Australis, in his majesty's ship the Investigator, in two quarto volumes, illustrated by plates and charts.*

Captain Laskey intends to publish early in next month a *Scientific Description of the Rarities in the Hunterian Museum at Glasgow.*

Mr. Robert Walpole has in the press, in a quarto volume, *Memoirs on European and Asiatic Turkey, from the manuscript journals of modern travellers in those countries.*

W. H. Yate, Esq. will speedily publish, the Palace, or *Memoirs of the Royal House of Denmark, founded on the marriage act of that State.*

Robert Cory, jun. Esq. purposes to publish the *History and Antiquities of Yarmouth, in Norfolk, in two quarto volumes, embellished with many engravings.*

The Rev. D. Williams, late of Christ Church, Oxford, will shortly publish in an octavo volume, the *Laws relating to the Clergy; intended as a guide to the clerical profession, in the legal and canonical discharge of their various duties.*

An edition of the *Select Writings of Henry James Pye, Esq. in six octavo volumes, is proposed to be published.*

Mr. Nichols, having attained much valuable matter, is induced to add another volume to his *Literary Anecdotes*, which is preparing for publication. And he will soon publish a second edition

of the History and Antiquities of Hinckley.

Sermons and Charges by the late Rev. Dr. Edward Williams, are printing in an octavo volume.

Phædo, a Treatise on the Immortality of the Soul, translated from the Greek of Plato, by T. R. J. Esq. A. M. is expected to appear in the course of this month.

Mrs. Pilkington will shortly publish Sketches from Nature, written during a short residence at Margate.

A Tour in Teesdale, including Rokeby and its environs, is in the press.

Mr. Bradley has in the press a new elementary work on Geography; the result of much practice in the art of teaching, and essentially different from all others, in acquiring a more speedy knowledge of the science.

Conversations on Chemistry, the fourth edition, with additions and corrections, in two duodecimo volumes, is nearly ready for publication.

The third volume of the new edition of Hutchins' History of Dorsetshire will be ready in a few days.

The second edition, with corrections and notes, of Sir John Cullum's History of Hawsted and Hardwick, in Suffolk, will soon appear in a royal quarto volume, with two portraits and nine other plates.

A new periodical paper has been announced at Oxford, under the title of the Censor, by members of that University.

Hibernia: an Historical and Topographical Account of Ireland; displaying its Civil, Military, Ecclesiastic, and Monastic History and Antiquities; the Lives of eminent persons, and Genealogies of the most considerable families, from the earliest to the present period, is preparing for publication; by Sir William Betham, Deputy Ulster King of Arms, and W. M. Mason, Esq.

A new translation is announced of Atala, or the Amours of two Savages in the Desert, by Chateaubriand.

A Portuguese newspaper has been commenced in London, under the title of Espelho, politico e moral.

At Cambridge, the subject of the Seatonian Prize Poem for the present year is, "The Death of Saul and Jonathan."

—Subjects of the Exercises for the Members' Prizes for the present year are—Senior Bachelors; Quid potissimum boni vel mali ab infimi ordinis juventute literis instituenda sit oriundum?—Middle Bachelors; Omnis doctrina ingeniarum et humanarum artium uno quodam societatis vinculo continetur.

Don Joseph Rodriguez, having animadverted with severity on alledged errors of Colonel Mudge's Trigonometrical Survey of England, as differing from the measures of the French, and other mathematicians in other countries, Dr. Olinthus Gregory has published a spirited reply, in defence of the English surveyors; and he contends, that the variation arises from anomalies in the attractions of the plummet in an island.

ART. XIV. LIST OF WORKS RECENTLY PUBLISHED.

BIOGRAPHY.

Memoirs of the Private and Public Life of William Penn. By Thomas Clarkson, M. A. also may be had, by the same Author, 2 vols. 8vo. 1l. 4s. boards.

Memoirs of John Horn Tooke, interspersed with Original Documents. By Alexander Stephens, of the Hon. Society of the Middle Temple, 2 vols. 8vo. 1l. 4s. bds.

EDUCATION.

The Finance Committee of the Royal Lancasterian Institution for the Education of the Poor for 1812. price 1s.

Portefeuille Sentimental, ou Mélange de Prose et de Poesie. 12mo. prix 5s. bds.

The Madras School Grammar, or the New System reduced to Questions and Answers; by G. Reynolds, master of the Lambeth School, price 1s.

Fables for the Fireside. By John Lettice, D. D. post 8vo. 5s. bds., fine paper, 7s.

A Sketch of Modern and Ancient Geography, for the use of Schools. By Samuel Butler, D. D. head master of the Royal Free Grammar School, of Sturwbury, 8vo. price 9s. bds.

The complete Family Assistant, in ten Numbers, at 6d. By J. M. Flindall.

A Treatise on the Polish game of draughts. By J. G. Polhman, Esq. 2s.

The Works of Damiano, Ruip-Lopez, and Salvio, on the game of Chess. Translated by J. H. Sarrat, 12s.

Facts tending to prove that General Lee was the author of Junius. By T. Girdlestone, M.D. 7s. 6d.

A complete Discovery of the Author of Junius. 5s.

The Cambridge University Calendar, for 1813. Foolscap, 5s. 6d. bds.

An Essay towards a Theory of Apparitions. By John Ferriar, M.D. cr. 8vo. 4s. 6d. bds.

The Ladies' Companion for visiting the Poor. 12mo. 2s. sewed.

Tableau de la Litterature Française pendant le dix huitième S^ècle. 8vo, prix 7s.

NATURAL HISTORY.

An Introduction to Geology: comprising the Elements of the Science, and their application to illustrate the Geology of England. By Robert Bakewell. 8vo. 12s. boards, with a Geological map of England, and other coloured plates.

Number XXI of Fuci; or, Coloured Figures, with descriptions in Latin and English, of the plants referred by Botanists to the genus Fucus. By Dawson Turner, Esq. A.M. F.R.S. L.S. &c. price 7s. 6d.

Experimental Researches, concerning the Philosophy of Permanent Colours; and the best means of producing them by dyeing, calico-printing, &c. By Edward Bancroft, M.D. Fellow of the Royal Society of London, and of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences, of the State of Massachusetts Bay. 2 Vol. 8vo. 11. 16s. bds.

Researches on Atmospheric Phenomena; together with Meteorological Journals, &c. By Thomas Forster, F.L.S. 8vo. 7s. bds.

Elements of Agricultural Chymistry, in a course of Lectures for the Board of Agriculture. By Sir Humphrey Davy, F.R.S. L. & E. M.R.A. &c. 4to 2l. 2s. bds. Illustrated by ten engravings.

A Lecture in proof of the Systems of Planets being inhabited; by James Mitchell, M.A. 1s. 6d.

Transactions of the Linnæan Society of London. Part I. Vol. II. 21s.

An Essay on the Philosophy, Study, and Use of Natural History; by Charles Fothergill. Foolscap, 8s. bds.

A Dictionary of Botanical Terms, for the use of students in Botany, by James Lee. 8vo. 4s. bds.

A Precursor to an Exposé on Forest trees and timber, &c. By Capt. Laymans, 8vo. 5s. 6d. sewed.

ORIENTAL LITERATURE.

A Grammar of the Hindustan Language. By John Shakespear, Professor of Oriental Languages, at the East-India Company's Military Seminary, Croydon, 4to. 11. 1s. bds.

POLITICS.

Considerations on the relative state of Great Britain in May, 1813. 8vo. price 4s. sewed.

Considerations on Colonial Policy, with relation to the renewal of the East-India Company's Charter. By an impartial Observer, 8vo. price 3s. 6d. sewed.

The Case stated upon the claims of the Opposition, 8vo. price 3s 6d sewed.

Letters on Ireland, to refute Mr. George Barnes' statistical Account, &c. By a Citizen of Waterford. 8vo. 3s 6d sewed.

An Address to the Parliament of Great Britain, on the Claims of Authors to their own Copy-Right, 8vo. price 1s. 6d. sewed.

Inquiries respecting the proposed Alteration of the Law of Copyright, as it affects authors and the Universities; by Basil Montague, Esq. price 2s.

An Appeal to the Nations of Europe against the Continental System. By Madame de Stael Holstein. 4s.

A full and correct Report of the Debates in the House of Commons on the Catholic Claims, on Thursday, February 26—March 2, 1813. 5s.

Protestant Union: Nos. I. and II. III. and IV. Containing the Address, Resolutions, and Questions, to the English Roman Catholics, by the Protestant Union, &c. 6d. each.

Outlines of the Plan of Finance, stated by the Right Hon. the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to the Committee of the whole House of Commons, Wednesday, March 3, 1813, with a Copy of the Resolutions proposed by him to the Committee. 2s. 6d.

An Inquiry into the Rise and Progress, the Redemption and present State, and the Management of the National Debt of Great Britain. By Robert Hamilton, LL.D. F.R.S.E. Professor of Natural Philosophy in the Marischal College and University of Aberdeen. 8vo. 6s.

A Letter to the Right Hon. Lord Grenville, occasioned by some observations of his Lordship on the East India Company's Establishment for the education of their civil servants. By the Rev. T. R. Malthus, A. M. 2s.

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Oriental Commerce; or a Guide to the Trade of the East Indies and China. By William Milburn, of the East India Company's service.

A Brief Historical View of the Causes of the Decline of the Commerce of Nations. By James Tyson. 2s.

POETRY.

Poems on a variety of Subjects. By Misses Watkins, of Stokelane, Somerset. 12mo, 10s. 6d. bds.

The Giaour, a Fragment of a Turkish Tale. By the Rt. Hon. Lord Byron. 8vo. 4s. 6d. bds.

A Collection of the most beautiful Poems of the Minor Poets of Greece, as preserved in the Anthologies of Brunck and Jacobs, in Stobæus, &c. Translated from the original Greek. By the Rev. Robert Bland, and others. With copious Notes, and biographical and other Illustrations. 8vo. price 18s. bds.

The Bridal of Triermain, or Vale of St. John, in Three Cantos, foolscap, price 7s. 6d. bds.

Walker's (W. S.) Gustavus Vasa, and other Poems, 8vo. price 10s. 6d. bds.

THEOLOGY.

An Essay on the Equity of Divine Government, and the Sovereignty of Divine Grace. By Edward Williams, D.D. 8vo. 12s. bds.

An English Translation, with historical Notes, of Bishop Jewel's celebrated Apology for the Church of England, in which the grounds of the Reformation, and of the King's Supremacy, are fully stated and maintained. To which are annexed, Memoirs of the Life of Jewel, and the famous Sermon, preached by him at St. Paul's Cross, in 1560. By the Rev. A. C. Campbell, A. M. Editor of the Apologia, with Smith's Greek Version. 8vo. 10s. 6d. bds.

A Charge delivered before the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge, on the 23d of March, 1813, to the Rev. C. A. Jacobi, then about to proceed as one of their Missionaries to India. By T. F. Middleton, D.D. Archdeacon of Huntingdon, together with Mr. Jacobi's reply. 1s 6d.

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Illustrated with numerous engravings. Voyages and Travels from Copenhagen to Brazil, the South Sea, Kamschatka, and Japan, during the years 1803, 4, 5, 6, and 7. By H. V. Langsdorff, Aide Counsellor to his Majesty the Emperor of Russia, Consul General at the Brazil, &c. 4to. 2l. 12s. 6d. bds.

* * Unavoidable circumstances have compelled us to postpone to our next Number the indexes which were intended to accompany this.